

•NUCLEAR• TIMES

**MAKING PEACE
FLY IN GENEVA**



**Media: A Pressing Issue
SDI Protest: It's Academic
Re-thinking Patriotism**

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Congratulations to International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War on winning the Nobel Peace Prize. It comes at a timely moment, as IPPNW attempts to influence the summit meeting with a new call to halt nuclear testing.

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VOLUME IV, NUMBER 2

NUCLEAR TIMES (ISSN 0734-5836) is published six times a year by Nuclear Times, Inc., Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. (212) 563-5940. Single copy, \$3; yearly subscriptions, \$21; Mexico and Canada, add \$5 per year postage; all other foreign, add \$17 airmail. Bulk rates apply, please inquire. Copyright © 1985 by Nuclear Times, Inc. All correspondence should be sent to Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. Allow six weeks for address change.

Letters

Prolong May It Wave

The July-August issue of NUCLEAR TIMES carried an account of activities to stop GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network), a communications system designed to withstand electromagnetic pulse.

GWEN may have an important role in preventing nuclear war. By preserving our ability to retaliate after an enemy first strike, GWEN should make it less necessary to launch under attack. GWEN may provide vitally needed time to distinguish between a first strike and a false alarm or isolated terrorist bombing.

Most activists find repulsive and ridiculous any technology for fighting a prolonged nuclear war. I am personally less fearful about a deliberate Russian attack than I am about getting too nervous and launching-under-attack when there isn't any attack.

—Charles Haynes
Lansing, Mi.

Beyond War

The article "Seeking A Common Denominator" (Sept.-Oct. '85) failed to include any of the many positive comments I made about the Beyond War organization. I have admired their creativity, energy and dedication publicly and privately. I have had the pleasure of working closely with them in the past and hope to continue doing so in the future. Unfortunately the story did not reflect my views about a welcome and vital partner in our quest for sane and sound arms control and national security policies.

—Anne H. Cahn
The Committee for National Security
Washington, D.C.

Freeze Figures

The article "Learning Electoral Lessons" (Sept.-Oct. '85) led to some confusion about Freeze Voter's 1984 electoral contributions. It also included one miscalculation. According to F.E.C. reports, Freeze Voter spent \$1,338,000 during the 1984 elections. Of this, a total of \$43,000 was disbursed to directly support candidates. (This is three percent of the total Freeze Voter budget. The article indicated it was four percent.) Some readers thought this implied that Freeze Voter only gave three percent of its funds as cash contributions to candidates and wondered why I raised the issue since Freeze Voter never intended to give financial contributions. The \$43,000 actually accounts for the total recorded "in-kind" contributions (such as

paid field staff) and independent expenditures by Freeze Voter for endorsed candidates. No cash was contributed.

In the article, I suggested that Freeze Voter should assess how 97 percent of its budget was spent. Some readers concluded I was suggesting that 97 percent of Freeze Voter funds went for overhead and administration. It is clear that much of the Freeze Voter funds went to launch grass-roots volunteer programs that ultimately did help elect several candidates. Still, there is a need for closer scrutiny of the net financial and political gain of these programs before plans are finalized for 1986.

—Betsy Taylor
Cambridge, Ma.

HERBERT SUSSAN

Herbert Sussan, who shot documentary film footage for the U.S. Army in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and later campaigned for its public release, passed away in early September at the age of 64. A pioneer producer/director in the television industry, Sussan tried for years to get the unique color footage declassified, recognizing that, unlike so much of the other primary source material, it revealed the true horror of the atomic bombings in human terms. Finally, in the late-1970s, after the 90,000 feet of raw film had been placed in the National Archives, Herb alerted the Japanese public to its existence (inspiring a mass movement for the purchase of the film). Then, in 1983, largely due to an article about Sussan in NUCLEAR TIMES, activists and journalists in this country learned about the footage. The National Archives film library was soon flooded with viewing requests; dozens of filmmakers made plans to incorporate the footage into their documentaries and snippets of it were used last summer in many 40th anniversary television programs.

Unfortunately, Sussan died before his dream of almost four decades could be realized: to have a program devoted entirely to this real *Day After* broadcast over national television. But the footage exists, and will continue to be well-utilized, long after his passing. Ironically, the task of capturing the agony of atomic victims may have cost Sussan his own life. He suffered, in his last years, from lymphoma, which he and his doctor believed may have been caused by his exposure to radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In a sense, then, Sussan was one with the subjects of his film. His two final acts, therefore, have a special resonance. Sussan asked that donations in his memory be sent to the peace museums in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And he asked his son and daughter to scatter his ashes near ground zero in Hiroshima.

—G.M.

EARLY WARNINGS

NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR BUST: Each year about 112,000 individuals are assigned by the U.S. military to jobs that entail working with nuclear weapons—and every year about one in 20 is removed from duty because of drug, alcohol or psychological problems. And since there is little systematic monitoring of those who remain, “there must be thousands” of unreliable personnel with access to nuclear weapons, charges Herbert Abrams, who recently completed a study of Pentagon records. This unnerving state of affairs could be especially dangerous in times of crisis “when tensions are high and time for decision-making short,” says Abrams, a radiologist at Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Arms Control.

In the 10-year period analyzed by Abrams, 33 percent of those decertified for nuclear weapons work were removed because of drug abuse, 21 percent for psychological problems and 9 percent for alcoholism. (Psychological problems are often exacerbated, Abrams points out, when personnel are assigned to stressful work in underground missile launch sites and submarines.) Abrams argues that the screening process for personnel must be improved by requiring medical exams, psychological tests and systematic surveillance of work. One Pentagon spokesman, in response to Abrams’ revelations, argued that the present screening process must be effective since more than 5000 workers are removed annually. By that reasoning, of course, the higher the number of removals the less cause for concern: hardly an arguable point in this case.

The problem is probably bilateral. Abrams notes that alcoholism is “a health problem of epidemic proportions in the Soviet Union”—especially (according to reports) among military personnel.

CLUB STAKE: Few people would count the Sierra Club as part of the nation’s far-flung peace movement, though the group has long taken emphatic stands against the nuclear arms race. Now a campaign from the Sierra Club’s grass roots is pressuring the leadership to put some of the club’s considerable resources, an effective Washington lobbying operation and an extensive activist network, behind those stands. They’ve just completed a petition drive to make preventing nuclear war an official club priority.

Petition drive organizers say they have signatures from 2000 members, 50 percent more than they need to put the matter on the board of directors’

November agenda. The board can either bow to the petitioners and make anti-nuclear war work one of its campaigns next year or refer the matter to a vote of the club’s 355,000 members early in 1986. It would be the first priority-setting referendum in the club’s history. The drive caps a sometimes bitter three-year internal effort to move the issue onto the board’s agenda, led by members of the club’s active San Francisco Bay Area chapter. While the board established a Committee on the Environmental Impact of Warfare to work on the issue in 1982, a majority had resisted making preventing nuclear war a formal club priority. “There are different ways of getting at the arms race,” says Michele Perrault, club president. “You don’t have to call it a priority to contribute. Members are concerned that we not pull away from our traditional priorities.” Early next year, members may get a chance to speak for themselves.

LIKELY VERSION: Somewhere in Cincinnati there lives a young man, a comatose quadriplegic, named Given, who is cared for by his sister Juanita. One summer day in the park a boy walked past Given carrying a cassette recorder which was playing a song by pop star Madonna. For the first time in years, Given became lucid, asking, “What beautiful music is that?” The next few days were happy ones for Given and his family. They showered him with Madonnabilia, and her album never left the turntable. Given’s health and mood improved steadily.

Seventeen days later, Given watched a video cassette of *The Day After*, and here



Save this material girl from vaporization

the story takes a sad turn. Fearing that Madonna might be killed or forced to live in a post-nuclear world like the one portrayed in the film, Given became seriously depressed. His condition deteriorated until several months later he was comatose again. Given’s sister claims that his last words were, “those eyes [Madonna’s] must never see nuclear war . . .” He has not come out of the coma since.

In a press release, a spokesman for Juanita, Terrence Ross, tells us that she has decided to attempt to honor her brother’s last request. She has appointed Ross executive director of a new disarmament group, The Association To Save Madonna From Nuclear War. Ross is anxious to discuss the matter with Madonna herself. He is publicizing the story because he wants “people to think about nuclear war in different ways. Everybody is so overwhelmed by the concept that they cannot deal with it. This story makes people think about

Blips

The Pentagon is seriously studying a new plan it hopes will get them their full quota of **MX missiles**: outfitting the missiles with hard-armored suits and hiding them—another shell game scenario—among a large number of underground silos. The same concept, known as “Carry Hard,” could be applied to the **Midgetman**, which also has basing problems . . . **SANE** may set up a new project working full-time on the military budget issue . . . After the release this fall of his two new books—a novel and a look at comets—**Carl Sagan** will return to his book (and possible TV series) *Nucleus*. It will study the physics and the history of nuclear weapons, and present a vision of a nuclear-free future . . . The New England chapter of the War Resisters League is leading a boycott of the new **Rambo** line of dolls and related merchandise (due out for Christmas) brought out by Coleco, charging that the violence-prone character is a bad role model for children . . . The **Roosevelt Center** in Washington, D.C., is planning a month of community events around the proliferation issue next April, modeled on Ground Zero Week. Tools will include a role-playing game and a film, “Nuclear Anarchy,” narrated by Howard K. Smith . . . Latest ABC News poll, which found that the public now disapproves of **Star Wars** by 53-41 percent, turned up a giant gender gap on the issue, with men approving SDI by 54-43 and women opposing it 63-30 . . . **Jobs with Peace** will attempt to build on its successful 1984 ballot initiative drive in Los Angeles with another initiative next November. One possible proposal: a new tax on military contractors .

WHAT YOUR LIBRARY WANTS FOR CHRISTMAS:

THE MILITARY BUDGET: DOLLARS AND DEFENSE

Utilizing interviews with military and congressional experts, the Fund for Peace has another in its series of programs aimed at focusing attention on topics of current national concern. The defense budget is examined in the context of "Are we getting our money's worth?" by asking the following questions: Is defense spending actually developed on a "threat assessment basis" as claimed?; Is defense spending actually a smaller portion of the total budget now as President Reagan says?; Is defense spending good for the total economy? Responses to these questions will generally please Pentagon critics. A good quality program that can be used as a source of discussion for high school, college, and adult audiences. A potential tendency to become dated quickly by use of Reagan's defense policies as examples should not deter consideration for purchase. Preview and purchase recommended.

—Library Journal,
Sept. 15, 1985

from ISSUES IN THE NEWS,
a series produced by The Fund
for Peace. Others:

- * STAR WARS:
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- * US vs USSR:
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nuclear war by singling out one unique person, not all of creation. It's a new approach." Ross admits that one of the chief reactions so far "is disbelief, sometimes sardonic humor"—Juanita has refused to be interviewed to verify the story—but anyone interested can write to the Association at 228 W. McCormick, #3, Cincinnati, OH 45219.

IT'S A WRAP: For a few brief minutes on August 4, 1985, 25,000 people ringed the Pentagon with The Peace Ribbon. Now Nigel Noble, an independent documentary director, wants The Ribbon's call for peace to gain a wider audience. Noble is piecing together an hour-long "ribbon of film" selected from over 90 hours of footage filmed during local Ribbon preparations and at the national event.

The documentary, Noble hopes, will reflect both the spirit and the method of The Ribbon project. "The Ribbon was a statement from the heart of this country, made by many individual voices," he explains. "So is the documentary." A segment from each piece of footage received from grass-roots groups (in at least 25 states and Japan) will be included in the final cut. "In every piece—even the most technically imperfect—there is always one shot that tells their story," says Noble.

The inspiration for the project came from Noble's wife, Jane, a quilter and weaver, who first told him about The Ribbon. After an unsuccessful attempt in early 1985 to raise funds, Noble realized that the same spirit of volunteerism and grass-roots creativity propelling The Ribbon project could also power a documentary. He asked Ribbon state coordinators to send footage from grass-roots videomakers and local television stations, and recruited a volunteer crew of camera and sound technicians to cover the action in Washington, D.C. Noble expects the final edit to be completed by the spring of 1986. "Obviously we want to see it go out through the peace network, and I'd ultimately like to get it aired on public television," Noble says.

NO PLACE LIKES HOME (PORT): "Putting the proposal to make New York City a nuclear free harbor on the November ballot has given us the opportunity for more serious public debate in the last two weeks than we've had in the last two years," said a jubilant Tom DeLuca, coordinator of the referendum campaign, in early October. In a drive led by Mobilization for Survival and the 100-group Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, more than 100,000 New Yorkers signed petitions enabling voters to decide whether the city can cooperate in making Staten Island a homeport for a Navy surface action fleet carrying nuclear-

**WE'VE ALWAYS WELCOMED THE NAVY.
BUT NOT WITH NUCLEAR ARMS.**



Romance over: Anti-homeport ad

capable Tomahawk cruise missiles. Mayor Ed Koch stated that if the referendum—the first citizen initiative to appear on a New York City ballot in 19 years—passed, it "would be to the eternal shame of New York. . . . I would hope New York City would never be in a situation where we could be compared to New Zealand."

Koch asked the city's corporation counsel to initiate a legal action to invalidate the referendum—in effect, to declare the proposal unconstitutional *before* it is voted into law—on grounds that city residents had no right to interfere with U.S. military policy. (The results of the legal challenge were unclear as we went to press.) Meanwhile, a city deputy mayor and private groups mapped out a public relations campaign on behalf of the homeport. But the huge amount of publicity surrounding the referendum proved that, whatever the outcome, "the nuclear arms race," as Tom DeLuca pointed out, shortly before appearing on a *Donahue* show devoted to the homeport, "is no longer a non-issue in New York City."

AIRPORT '85: The site of the upcoming national Freeze Campaign conference—a hotel right at O'Hare International Airport, far from downtown Chicago—has drawn criticism. But the timing is propitious (just hours before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit) and another enthusiastic gathering of upwards of 800 grass-roots activists is expected. To conference organizers, at least, O'Hare is the place to be, since some of the participants will be flying to Geneva as soon as the meeting breaks up. Several will carry with them signature-laden petitions collected (with a great deal of media-conscious fanfare) at the confab.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson is scheduled to address the delegates. At the forefront of the November 15–17 gathering, however, will be the usual discussion and debate over the Campaign's strategy proposals for the following year. A draft

of these proposals circulated in October indicated that while the Campaign "remains firmly committed" to the comprehensive freeze, "current political realities" dictate that the policy goals for 1986 focus on warhead and flight test bans (through funding moratoriums, if necessary) and putting a crimp in Star Wars. Freeze leaders will explain how the Campaign will become a membership organization (phased-in over the course of several years). The Direct Action Task Force will attempt to drum up enthusiasm for wide-ranging national and local actions surrounding the testing issue, as well as economic-oriented protests involving disinvestments and product boycotts. Plans to upgrade media work (including the establishment of a "Freeze Hotline") and to capitalize on the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Campaign next March will also be presented.

A thorny internal issue will probably come up, too. Last year's convention instituted a system of electing representatives to its national committee for the first time. This unexpectedly resulted in the election of men to these posts in about a two-to-one ratio. (Women had previously held at least half of these positions.) A new "women's caucus"—a first for the Freeze Campaign—will present a resolution attempting to redress this imbalance.

PLAY/ACTING: The antinuclear movement is already familiar with William Gibson's play *Handy Dandy*: It's been produced in churches and community theaters from coast-to-coast. But recently the Establishment got a chance to see the trials of Gibson's protagonist, a civilly-disobedient nun named Molly Egan, when the drama, which stars James Whitmore and Audra Linley, premiered at the historic Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. Among the well-heeled crowd who gathered for opening night were Representative Pat Schroeder (accompanied by her daughter) and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. When asked during intermission what he thought of the play, Weinberger was overheard to say, "Very interesting theater." And, after a pause, "Different."

Also in attendance that night was the playwright's wife, Dr. Margaret Brenman-Gibson, a Harvard psychiatrist who is best-known for her spirited and recurrent acts of antinuclear civil disobedience. Not long after the opening night curtain calls, Brenman-Gibson was off to Beatty, Nevada, for some courtroom drama of her own. Along with three other activists (including Daniel Ellsberg), Brenman-Gibson went on trial for trespassing at the Nevada Test Site on August 6. "As we stood in what must be the world's tiniest courtroom," Brenman-

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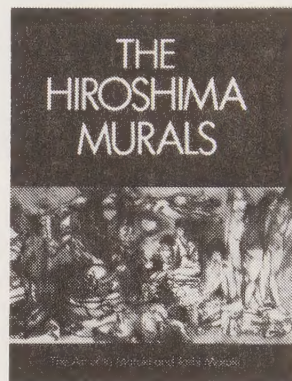
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Translated by William Johnston, S.J.

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Gibson recounts, "we felt a tremor go through the place. It turns out they were testing down the road."

But neither the tremor, nor the defendants' *pro se* arguments, which relied on "defense of necessity" and international law, swayed Judge William Sullivan, who on September 26 convicted the four of trespass. (Brenman-Gibson and Ellsberg served 24 hours in jail.)

The dovetailing of play and trial occasioned good media coverage; newspaper items appeared in *The New York Times* and the *New York Post* among others. And *People* ran a two-page spread on the Gibsons—in a section of the magazine labeled "Controversy."

THOUGHT POLICE?: Accuracy in Academia, Inc., a new public interest group launched by Reed Irvine (founder of Accuracy in Media, the influential foe of alleged liberal bias in media), is a watchdog group worth watching.

Bolstered by a volunteer corps of several hundred student monitors on 85 campuses, including Harvard, Yale and the University of Chicago, AIA hopes to "raise the professional academic standards of objective truth" by challenging liberal bias in the classroom, according to the group's president, Malcolm Lawrence. Several monitors are enrolled in peace studies and nuclear policy courses, where professors may be "propagandizing for disarmament," explains Lawrence. When monitors report what they consider factual inaccuracies or unsubstantiated opinions, AIA checks with its own expert sources. (Lawrence cites High Frontier—the pro-space weapons group—the White House and government agencies as sources on nuclear policy questions.) If an "inaccuracy" is confirmed, AIA may publicize it through press conferences and its own newsletter.

The group has already attracted considerable national media attention since its kick-off on August 1. But educators who perceive a potential threat to academic freedom may be paying the closest attention. "They [AIA leaders] are thought police who don't want the world to change," charges Howard Zinn, a Boston University professor and historian. Iris Molotsky, public information officer at the American Association of University Professors in Washington, D.C., reports that "phones have been ringing off the hook with faculty and students wanting more information. We believe Accuracy in Academia can have a chilling effect on the whole intellectual atmosphere in the classroom."

Items by Henry Epstein, Charles de Kay, Jacqueline Orr, and Joan Walsh.

Blue-Prints

Research and New Ideas



P *Psychology and Deterrence*, published this month by Johns Hopkins Press, showcases a rising young academic discipline, halfway between political science and psychology, known as political psychology.

"Deterrence is the dominant concept for American foreign policy," says Richard Ned Lebow, one of the five co-authors of the book. "What we've tried to show from cases in the past is that, as often as not, it produces the very effects that it tries to prevent." To make this point, the authors refer to non-nuclear events, such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the Falklands War. The same sort of breakdowns in deterrence that are illustrated in these cases could happen with nuclear weapons as well, they argue.

While this conclusion may seem like a familiar swipe at deterrence doctrine, the analytical approach is novel. Here, history is no mere matter of record. Instead it is treated like a patient stretched out on the couch, awaiting psychoanalysis. The authors consider the conscious and unconscious psychological stresses that decisionmakers experience in the course of daily routine, as well as in moments of crisis. Irrationalities are diagnosed: in particular, the tendency for two psychological phenomena—"motivated" and "unmotivated" bias—to disrupt the deterrence doctrine.

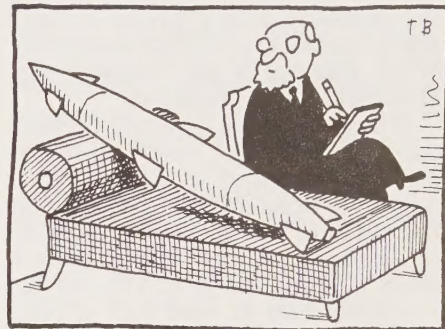
Motivated bias is something like wishful thinking. An example is the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, according to the authors. It was supposed to act as a deterrent to a U.S. takeover in China, but deterrence broke down because the Japanese (faced with the painful prospect of losing China) deluded themselves into a serious underestimation of the scale of the likely U.S. retaliation.

Unmotivated bias, on the other hand, works on a cognitive level. "Deterrence theory," says Robert Jervis, another co-author, "is based on the idea that beliefs are fine-tuned to the environment." But, in fact, Jervis argues, realistic assessments are commonly obscured by cognitive habits, such as the tendency to form an image of another country. Once such images become established as beliefs, Jervis explains, they can influence the way policymakers interpret ambiguous information. In this way, states can be trapped into confirming their own worst opinions or fears about an antagonist (such as the Soviet Union). But unmotivated bias can also cut the other way,

blinding policymakers to the threat posed by their historical allies.

This sort of psycho-historical analysis would not be terribly remarkable except that the authors are political scientists, not psychologists. Until quite recently such interplay between academic disciplines would have been regarded as extreme heterodoxy.

Jervis, one of the chief architects of the merger between political science and psychology, is a political scientist at Columbia University who is credited with establishing the basic principles of political psychology in his 1976 book, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*.



Lebow, a professor of government at Cornell and director of the Cornell Peace Studies Program—he specializes in the psychology of decisionmaking—is pairing up with prominent psychologist Irving Janis, author of *Groupthink* (an influential treatise on stress and its degrading effect on decisionmaking). Over the next two years Lebow and Janis will each write two books, the first set of which should be appearing next fall.

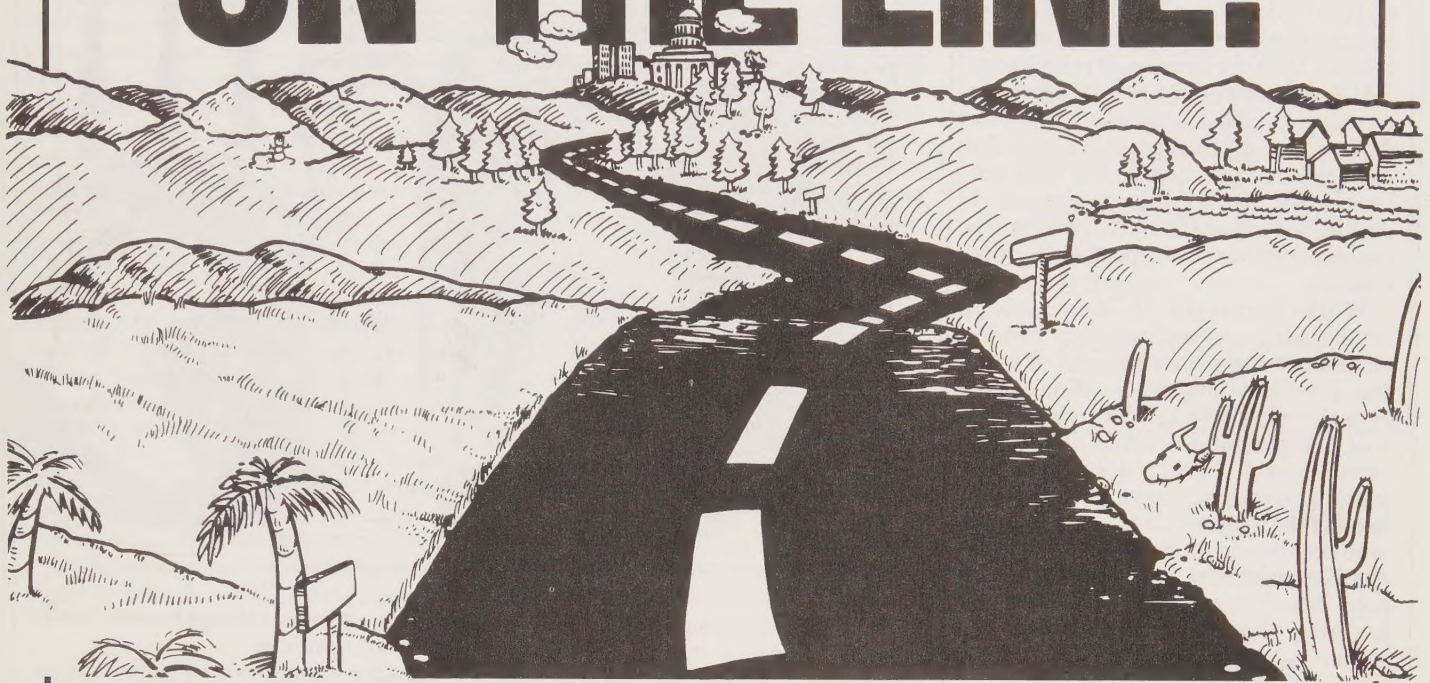
Once all four books are completed, Janis and Lebow will compare notes and begin their chief collaboration—a prescriptive primer for policymakers that will draw on the major findings of their books. They are also thinking about producing a video game that would involve participants in a simulation of decisionmaking under stress. "After all," says Lebow, "letting people experience crisis management is much better than having them read about it."

* * *

Meanwhile, social scientists prominent in the arms control field have set up headquarters at the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Known as the Committee on the Contributions of Behavioral and Social Science to Prevent Nuclear War, and chaired by William Estes, a Harvard psychologist, the committee brings together prominent scholars (including Robert Jervis) from across the country. So far, committee members have outlined four objectives, including opening lines of communication with the policy-making community, and exchanges with the Soviets.

—Corinna Gardner

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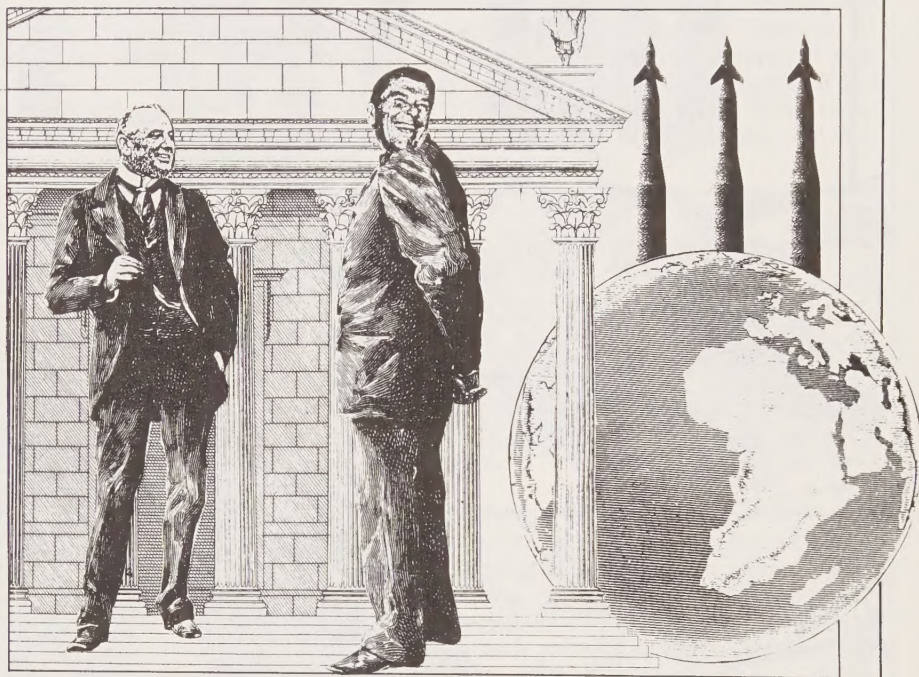
Trying To Reach The Summit

The eyes of the world will be on Geneva November 19–20, as the curtain rises on the first meeting between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union in seven years. The Reagan-Gorbachev summit is set at a critical time in arms control history. SALT II expires six weeks after the meeting; the Soviet moratorium on the deployment of SS-20 missiles ends a few days before the summit, and their unilateral test ban expires on January 1. And in November the Dutch government decides whether to accept 48 U.S. cruise missiles.

While Secretary of State George Shultz calls the summit "an historic opportunity to reduce the risk of war," the President and other officials have repeatedly warned against "false hopes" that the summit will bring progress on arms control. "That's a common bargaining strategy," says Jim Driscoll, head of the Freeze Campaign in Arizona, who once taught courses in negotiating at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. When you're negotiating, Driscoll explains, "you try to convince your constituents not to expect anything. That way they won't be disappointed when nothing happens. But we in the peace movement *want* the American people to expect progress."

"Anything is possible with President Reagan if the pressure is there," says Howard Ris, executive director of the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS). "His sitting down to talk to the Soviets in the first place is a response to public pressure." To heighten that pressure, dozens of national and local groups are working to publicize the possibilities for progress at the summit.

SANE, the Freeze Campaign and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) are collaborating on nationwide, candle-light vigils on November 19. "It's a way to get visibility," says Alan Gregory, special projects coordinator for the Freeze Campaign, which is targeting local congressional offices as sites for the vigils. (Defense contractors and institutions that conduct Star Wars research will be the focus for the vigils in some communities.) To bring the religious community into the pre-summit campaign, the Freeze has proposed a "Summit Sabbath" for the weekend of November 16–17.



The Freeze Campaign and SANE also hope to collect a million signatures nationwide in support of a comprehensive test ban (CTB) and a meaningful summit, which will be shipped to Geneva. "We kicked off the petition drive September 14 with [super-model] Christie Brinkley in New York City," says Beth Leopold, publicity director for SANE. "She's a great salesperson, and was great at getting people on the street to come over and sign." David Cortright, executive director of SANE, traveled to Boston, Raleigh, Seattle and other cities in October to speak about the opportunity for peace that the summit represents.

PSR has produced a "summit organizers kit" to help its members draw media and public attention to the possibilities for progress at the summit, and has set up a postcard campaign calling for adherence to the SALT and Anti-Ballistic Missile treaties, as well as moratoriums on ASAT and nuclear tests.

UCS has scheduled a national video conference, "From Trinity to Star Wars," for November 12. Viewers at seven conference sites will speak directly with panelists about the summit, the test ban, Star Wars and other arms control issues (see calendar, page 27). The program will air on some cable and public television

stations, as well as through other locally organized hook-ups.

Another summit-related project comes from Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), which is sponsoring "Days of Dialogue: Finding Common Ground; Teaching for the Summit and Beyond," November 11–15. ESR has also prepared manuals on teaching U.S.–Soviet relations and conflict resolution for kindergarten through 12th grade, as well as a guide for community organizing and dealing with the media.

THE ROAD TO SOMEWHERE

But the strongest ad hoc coalition to form around the Geneva meeting is Women for a Meaningful Summit (WFMS), which is working to "raise public and media expectations for the summit," according to coordinator Sue Herschkowitz in Washington, D.C. WFMS includes representatives from women's groups, as well as from the Freeze Campaign, PSR, the Center for Defense Information and others.

The WFMS statement calls for a comprehensive test ban and arms control progress at the summit. It has been signed by a variety of well-known women, and will be delivered to U.S. and Soviet leaders. WFMS representatives are seeking a pre-summit meeting with

President Reagan and a Soviet diplomatic official, and a WFMS delegation will carry their message directly to Geneva. There they will be joined by prominent women from other nations for media events and meetings with superpower officials. Justine Merritt, who masterminded the August 4 action to tie The Ribbon around the Pentagon, will be on hand as The Ribbon is wrapped around a symbolic landmark in Geneva. Other WFMS activities include a petition campaign and proclamations signed by local politicians.

The heads of a dozen groups, including the Council for a Livable World, Common Cause and the Union of Concerned Scientists, have compiled a seven-point agenda for progress at the summit. Their joint statement asserts that adopting any one of the steps would reduce the risk of nuclear war. The recommendations have been endorsed by Paul Warnke, Gerard Smith, Cyrus Vance, William Colby, and others. Endorsements from other groups are also being sought. "We want to promote the seven-point statement as a way of raising expectations for the summit," says Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN), who has helped coordinate the effort. Signatories are asked to "get the information out to the public" through mailings to members and media outreach.

The seven steps are: observing SALT I and II; abstaining from programs that might violate the ABM Treaty; banning ASAT tests; barring detection-proof

coding of flight pattern data from strategic nuclear weapons tests; barring deployment of any new MIRVed ICBMs, including the MX and SS-X-24; mutual suspension of nuclear tests and resumption of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations, and agreeing in principle to an interim treaty with a strategic nuclear warhead ceiling and annual reductions of strategic launchers and warheads.

The statement has its critics. "I don't think it's tough enough," says Richard Healey, executive director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "The peace movement should set higher standards. We want a significant step towards disarmament." Healey does not agree with the statement's assertion that taking any one of the steps would be an "important contribution toward a lessening of the risk of nuclear war." In his view, some of the recommendations only "manage" the arms race, rather than try to stop it. The Freeze Campaign and SANE also declined to endorse the statement.

Despite the disputes over the statement, Mulhauser's rationale for pre-summit organizing is likely to ring true for many in the peace movement. "Of course Reagan's statements have so far been disappointing," she says, "but he has made 180-degree reversals before. He is thinking of how this [the summit] is going to be written up in history. We have to approach this with optimism, and make our message a strong one."

—Beth Jackendoff

Razing Expectations: Two To Tangle?

If Reagan really wants to sign an agreement on strategic nuclear arms with the Russians, he has certainly been going about it the right way. He has the political authority to get an agreement signed and ratified—something Jimmy Carter notably lacked. He can deliver something the Russians want—an end to Star Wars. What he wants in return is something the Russians can safely give him—a reduction in heavy missiles with a scary first-strike potential. And he has convinced friend and foe alike he will get up from the negotiating table and go home empty-handed before he will sign an agreement he doesn't like.

In retrospect this is surely going to look like one of those rare, half-magical moments when the arms race might have been turned around. Last summer McGeorge Bundy described it as "a grand deal" in the making—a straight trade of

space-based defense systems for reductions in delivery systems. Moscow has talked about a 50 percent cutback. When George Kennan suggested that a couple of years ago it seemed like an impossible dream. If the deal goes through it will be the best news since 1945. Even if an agreement on reductions doesn't stop the qualitative arms race it will at least dispel the dispirited mood of failure which surrounds arms control. Any agreement at this point would represent a major step forward.

But it's going to be tough on both sides to reach an agreement—tough for Reagan to give up Star Wars, after billing it as the salvation for mankind, tough for the Russians to give up rocket forces which took two decades and millions of rubles to build, tough for both to trade signatures and champagne toasts with the bastards on the other side.

Can the peace movement do anything to encourage agreement at this point? Only governments can write treaties. But even a postcard to Reagan or Gorbachev in Geneva would seem better than silence on the sidelines.

—Thomas Powers

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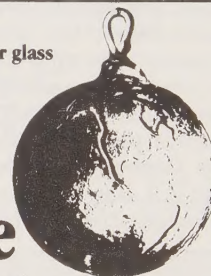
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R.I.P. H.J. RES. 3?

Congress Thwarts Test Ban

A congressional resolution known as "H.J. Res. 3" calling for a resumption of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations, was so effectively undermined by Administration lobbying that it never even reached the floor, as expected, in early October. "Except for the freeze vote I've never seen the heat turned up so high in all my 11 years on the Hill," says Mike Poloyac, legislative assistant to Representative Berkley Bedell of Iowa, who cosponsored the measure.

Poloyac and aides to Senators Edward Kennedy and Charles Mathias developed the idea for the measure in 1982. The Senate version passed in the summer of 1984, 77-22. "Kennedy and Mathias just pulled it out of a hat," says Poloyac. "The Administration never knew it was coming."

But the House vote was postponed twice because there were not enough supporters for it to pass. The vote was finally scheduled for October 3, giving the Administration weeks to pitch a timely lobbying point with bipartisan appeal: Don't tie the President's hands six weeks before the summit. Of the 207 cosponsors, 25 were Republican; some of the others were swing votes and "soft" Democrats. Secretary of State George Shultz's personal phone calls worked: The Democratic leadership decided to keep H.J. Res. 3 from reaching the floor.

Complicating the issue was an amend-



Rep. Bedell (I.): "3" out, for now

ment introduced by Representative Henry Hyde that called for improved verification, proof of compliance with existing treaties, and postponement of a comprehensive test ban (CTB) until after "militarily significant reductions" are made. "These issues are all red herrings," says Raoul Rosenberg, who directs test ban activities for Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington, D.C. "The entire question rested on political will."

Rosenberg and Poloyac both feel the Hyde amendment could have been defeated, but they disagree about the future of H.J. Res. 3. House Speaker Tip O'Neill says that he will bring H.J. Res. 3 to the floor at an unspecified time in the future, and Poloyac vows that cosponsors like Bedell "will do everything they can to try to make O'Neill keep his word. . ."

But Rosenberg says that, given the movement's limited resources, he's no

longer sure it's worth going for a modest measure like H.J. Res. 3. "It takes so much energy to mount a legislative campaign that next time we might just go for a cutoff of funds for nuclear tests if CTB negotiations are not resumed," he says. Representative Pat Schroeder has introduced a bill that stipulates just that, with January 1 as the date for the cutoff. But Poloyac believes that Schroeder's bill, which is backed by the Freeze Campaign and other groups, has no future in light of H.J. Res. 3's defeat. "You have to crawl," says Poloyac, "before you can walk."

—Beth Jackendoff

BIG BAN ON CAMPUS

Scientists Shun Star Wars Funds

What is the role of scientists in the technological arms race? Scientists and engineers on campuses across the country are facing this issue head-on in a campaign to get their colleagues to sign a pledge against doing research on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The campaign, underway since last summer, has spread to 70 universities and enlisted the support of over 1500 engineers, physicists and chemists. At Cornell University, the birthplace (along with the University of Illinois) of the campaign, nearly one-half of the science and engineering faculty have signed on, and 16 of the 19 physicists at Carnegie-Mellon have joined them. This research boycott is unprecedented in size and coordination.

About \$1.3 billion has been earmarked for academic research on SDI. Those who sign the petition pledge they will neither apply for nor accept funds for the program, which many in the scientific academic community view as a source of easy money at a time when most universities are experiencing a financial squeeze. The petition criticizes the program on the grounds that it is technologically infeasible, it will jeopardize existing arms control agreements, be harmful to the open nature of academic research and promote a strategy "likely to trigger a nuclear holocaust."

"The arms race isn't just run in Washington," says University of Pennsylvania physicist David Wright, co-author of the pledge (along with graduate student Lisbeth Gronlund). "It depends on the cooperation of a lot of people. This effort has integrated political issues into our scientific work. You go into the computer room and you hear people talking about it."

Freezing In The Desert

The American Peace Test, which began October 18 and will continue to November 20, is a first for the Freeze Campaign: both a national direct action campaign and a local organizing strategy. Freeze delegations from many states are spending one day each at the Nevada Test Site, participating in a "rolling presence." The Freeze activists, explains Ted Coran, the Campaign's national committeeperson from Oregon, are acting as "symbolic fingers" pointing to the place where nuclear weapons continue to be tested.

Delegations are staying in Las Vegas at motels and at the newly established Freeze office there. Actions include leaf-letting Test Site workers and putting

up—along the main highway past the Test Site—eight large signs with four-line jingles on each, reminiscent of the old Burma Shave ads. Nancy Hale, one of the coordinators of the Peace Test, says the action is "not primarily a civil disobedience action, but I am not saying that it won't happen." (The Campaign has put off endorsing civil disobedience at least until its national conference.)

A related wave of activity will be rolling in locations across the country. (See *Calendar*, page 27.) On the same day a state's Freeze delegation is in Nevada, groups at home will hold demonstrations, vigils, and gather signatures on petitions calling for a test ban. A copy of each petition will be sent to Washington, and the original to Nevada, where it will be posted on the "democracy wall," which may stretch for a quarter-mile near the Test Site.

—Tylka Vetula

What was once a "taboo subject"—the relationship between scientific research and the military—is now being discussed openly. But organizers are divided on what impact their campaign will have on the SDI program.

"The Pentagon can always find scientists to do their work," says Vera Kistiakowsky, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). (The SDI Office at the Pentagon, in fact, claims to have applications from 2600 researchers on file.) But, she adds, "If they can only get second-rate scientists, then they will get second-rate research." The bulk of the research for SDI, however, is not slated to be done by universities, but by national laboratories and by the aerospace industry. The pledge campaign has found some early success in penetrating the Brookhaven and Lawrence Berkeley national labs, as well as labs associated with IBM, Xerox and Bell.

The political impact of the petition campaign, as opposed to its substantive impact, is more direct. "As a gesture it is quite eloquent and effective," says Kosta Tsipis, a nuclear weapons expert who teaches at MIT. "It shows the public that many people who are knowledgeable about these issues feel that SDI is technically infeasible and undesirable."

The central organizers of the campaign, with the help of UCAM (United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War), are starting to discuss ways to influence ongoing congressional debates on SDI funding. UCAM and Wright are seeking funds to finance the petition project, which has been run out-of-pocket up to now.

"There won't be a landslide of signatures and the long-term impact is uncertain," says James Melcher, an MIT electrical engineering professor who is circulating the petition in his department. "It takes a lot of guts [to sign]. The whole history of MIT says that you get the latest equipment and plenty of money to do exciting work in 'service to the nation.' It's now so standard that we expect it and accept it without question."

Whether or not to sign the pledge can be a difficult decision for the non-tenured faculty member, the lab director strapped for money, and the graduate student dependent on his or her advisor. "Every signature requires at least an hour of discussion," says Professor Melcher.

One highly-touted MIT physics undergraduate who was working on free electron lasers at one of the school's labs left the job due to discomfort with doing research on SDI (or "Death Ray," as it was jokingly known in the lab). Sara Tasker feels fortunate to have gotten out early. "Once you do all your work in a certain area of physics," she explains, "it becomes harder and harder to leave, even

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though you discover that the principal application and drive behind the technology is the military."

In Washington, the leaders of the anti-SDI coalition on the Hill welcome the scientists' efforts, which "will have the most critical impact on Congress since the ABM debate in the 1960s," says John Isaacs, legislative director of Council for a Livable World. Pledge organizers visited Washington, under the auspices of SANE, on October 17 to lobby against SDI.

—Katherine Magraw

ADAMS' BOMBSHELL

Conversion Controversy Erupts

Gordon Adams knew that what he was about to say would be judged "highly controversial," but he had no idea that shock waves from his June 14 speech would still be reverberating in economic conversion circles months later.

Adams delivered the speech before an audience of about 200 in Washington, D.C., at the Women's Leadership Conference sponsored by the Committee for National Security. He wrote the speech, he says, "after much cogitation," and after determining that "an awful lot of people were gearing up for conversion work that I felt would be wasted." Adams, head of the Defense Budget Project in Washington, D.C., and a leading critic of military spending, had been promoting conversion for almost 15 years. Now, he told the audience, it was time to honestly confront "some old myths and realities. . . . We have to



Gordon Adams: Conversion reaction

stop and ask ourselves: Why has conversion never happened?" Adams charged (among other things) that:

- Many conversion advocates are the wrong people to push the concept because they have mixed motives; they're more concerned about the arms race than economic well-being.

- The conversion message places too much emphasis on the role of local communities and the workplace in sustaining the arms race, which, Adams says, is actually in the hands of the "political decision-makers."

- Arguments stressing how bad military spending is for the economy are often vastly overstated or incorrect—little more than "good rhetoric."

- Organizers, by lobbying the workers, owners and community officials who benefit most from defense spending, are "striving for saintly ineffectiveness, instead of victories."

Conversion advocates should focus on budget priorities, Adams suggested, and look at questions of broader industrial

policy, economic diversification and "national economic security." He concluded: "Rather than trying to win people to arms control through economic justifications, we can and we should argue national security and arms control on their merits."

When conversion advocates heard about Adams' speech, many of them were incensed. "It was all wrong," says Suzanne Gordon, who organized the International Economic Conversion Conference (at which Adams appeared) in Boston last year. "It was so oversimplified and distorted. He consistently misstated the conversion position—no one believes what he says we believe. He set up a straw man and then with a great deal of bravado knocked it down." And besides, she argues, "you can't base your agenda simply on what has worked."

"You'll never get anywhere arguing that because something has not worked it won't," says Mark Isaac, an aide to Representative Ted Weiss, who has drafted conversion legislation. "We've argued that it [conversion] won't work unless it's given the government support it deserves." Isaac complains that Adams seemed to question the credentials of conversion advocates, when in fact some of the field's most prominent theorists, such as Seymour Melman, are economists. And Isaac is upset that he first read Adams' speech after receiving a copy of it from, of all people, officials at the Pentagon. "The DoD is using the speech as ammunition against conversion," Isaac complains.

Adams had sent a copy of the speech to the Office of Economic Adjustment at the Pentagon, which last year was charged by Congress with studying the idea of forming a conversion office (and concluded that this was out of the question). "I sent the speech to a lot of people," Adams explains.

Lawrence Korb, then assistant secretary of defense, told Adams in a letter that he was "performing a valuable service in urging conversion advocates to reconsider the reasons why their theory has not worked. . . ." In late September, John Lynch, an assistant director of the Economic Adjustment office, sent copies of the speech to 16 federal agencies and to 12 conversion advocates along with his office's report which termed conversion unnecessary and impossible.

"Adams' emphasis on local economic development and diversification," says Lynch, "is something the DoD and disarmament advocates can agree on and work on." Lynch says that he has not circulated Adams' speech further because "we don't want to make things tougher for Gordon."

Wrap-Up

Damage to the immune system caused by a nuclear exchange would produce "a very large increase in the incidence of AIDS in the surviving populations," David S. Greer, dean of medicine at Brown University, told

an Institute of Medicine symposium in Washington, D.C. in September. . . . The **Samantha Smith Foundation** has been set up in Washington to promote "international understanding on a personal level." Her mother, Jane, heads it, with a fund-raising goal for the first year of \$5 million. . . . After **Richard Perle** told the House in September that the new freeze bill "is perhaps the silliest piece of legislation I have seen in almost 20 years of observing the Congress," one of the bill's sponsors, **Rep. Ed Markey**, compared Perle to Darth Vader and called him "the number one enemy of arms control in America today" Among the latest **nuclear free zone** declarations: Louisville, KY and Jersey City, NJ (the latter with a divestment and boycott clause) Opponents of **Trident II**, who've failed to stop the missile, may now work to limit deployment, either by prohibiting its use on the first eight Trident subs or by lowering its warhead yield from 475 to 100 kilotons (to reduce the first strike threat) The long-awaited ABC "answer" to **The Day After**, depicting a Soviet takeover of the United States (via a KGB plot, not a nuclear war), and set in Chicago and Lincoln, Nebraska, will air as a 16-hour miniseries next fall. Called **Amerika**, the depiction of the Soviets as hell-bent on conquering the United States is already drawing protests .

Anyone who calls the speech, in its entirety, ammunition for the Pentagon "hasn't read it," Adams charges. He says that he has personally received nothing but positive feedback, with several people telling him that it was about time somebody took this stand. Frank Clemente, coordinator with Jobs with Peace in Washington, D.C., says that he agrees "generally" with the Adams speech, especially with its call for an emphasis on budget priorities and its "macro-economic" approach.

Clemente points out, however, that there remain worthwhile areas for organizing around conversion at the "microeconomic" level, citing Jobs with Peace's growing efforts at the Philadelphia Navy Yard as one example. "These campaigns are worth doing, even if unsuccessful," Clemente says. "It gives us a chance to organize neighborhood groups around the jobs issue, and work with the Mayor and Congress. If you followed Gordon Adams' line we wouldn't be doing this." —Greg Mitchell

BYTE-SIZE PEACE

Database Net Works For Activists

The People United for Peace (PUP) Network, launched 10 months ago by a sociology graduate student in Boston, is a data base and electronic message system which is available to the public, free of charge. All you need is a personal computer with a modem, and a telephone.

The network currently helps 100 users per week, according to Patrick Withen, who founded and financed the project with the help of his wife Diana.



Graham (right) with colleagues

PUP is one of about a dozen local peace-oriented computer systems currently available to the public, including several in California and one in Minnesota. It is also a clear example of increasing computer use in the antinuclear movement—a surge dramatically evident in a proposed nationwide computer net-

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work called PeaceNet.

When completed, PeaceNet could become a powerful tool for activists. Some of its services, such as lists of peace groups and calendars of events, will be like those found on the PUP network (but on a national scale). It will also provide action alert networks and an opinion-polling capability.

Other services that are already available commercially, such as electronic mail and teleconferencing, will be offered to PeaceNet users at a low cost. Developers of the system want to make it easy to use. "Our goal is to create a common, electronic forum," says Hal Harvey, project director of PeaceNet at the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID), one of four Northern California groups involved in setting up the national project. "We want people to be able to dial in and, without knowing diddly-squat, do what they want to do."

To keep the costs down, the network will be decentralized. It will consist of a system of regional and local "nodes." A regional node will be a mini-computer capable of handling the large data bases and national communications; a local node will provide the same services on a smaller scale. Eventually, there will be about 10 regional nodes spread throughout the country. "Individuals and organizations put up the nodes," says Mark Graham of the Palo Alto-based Foundation for the Arts of Peace, which is also working on PeaceNet. "A lot of people will share the burden."

The data bases for the network, including mailing lists and speakers bureaus, will be supplied by the groups using the system. Groups will also contribute information related to their area of interest. SANE, for example, would maintain the data base that monitors Congress, says Graham, and the Center for Defense Information might maintain a file on weapons systems. Much of this information would be available at no cost, but in some cases an accounting system could be set up to charge fees for a particular group's services.

A prototype of PeaceNet, involving a single regional node in the Bay Area, was scheduled to be on line in October. The completion of the system will depend on funding, but CID's Harvey estimates that with an initial investment of about \$100,000 the entire system could be up in six months.

The cost for local peace groups to become part of the system will be based on their ability to pay. Groups will also have to purchase their own computers—still a substantial investment for a small group. Even so, argues Graham, "It is irresponsible, in this day and age, for a group not to have a computer."

—Alex Miller

Notes From Abroad



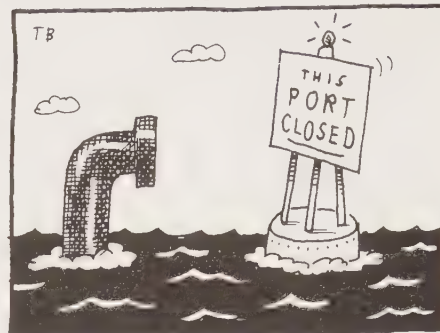
Two hundred activists, diplomats and parliamentarians shared strategies and opinions at the first **International Freeze Conference**, held in Geneva in September during the Third Review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. "Freeze in Geneva" was an unusual opportunity for a wide range of people to listen to each other's points of view. Although Belgian, French and some Italian groups have adopted the freeze as one of their demands, the major peace movements in other European countries consider it too limited an objective for their particular concerns. In **Britain**, the formation of an independent freeze group has aroused some bitterness and suspicion among members of the much larger and better established Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). The U.K. Freeze is more conservative than CND, rejecting unilateral measures and staying aloof from the growing campaign against Trident, Britain's new "independent deterrent."

In Geneva, delegates discussed the freeze as a unifying concept that might link local initiatives, including unilateral ones, into a worldwide disarmament process. Representatives of Third World and nonaligned countries, many of which have supported the freeze in the United Nations, talked strategy with grassroots activists from the industrial North and educated them about the effects of the arms race on political independence and development.

The conference's final statement to the N.P.T. Review urged the nuclear powers to implement a comprehensive freeze, and asked the United States and Britain to respond to the Soviet Union's moratorium on testing as a first step toward a test ban. The statement also called on other nations to take independent steps toward disarmament by halting the deployment of nuclear weapons and establishing nuclear free zones.

• Hairsplitter supreme Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former U.N. ambassador, said in late September that there was an important distinction between international terrorism and sabotaging a ship. The French agents who sank the **Rainbow Warrior**, killing one crew member, "clearly did not intend to attack civilians and bystanders and maim, torture or kill," Kirkpatrick explained. As she spoke, the new 190-foot ocean-going tug *Greenpeace* was sailing toward Moruroa to protest

French nuclear testing there—trailed by the *Balmy*, believed to be a French vessel. A second Greenpeace ship, the *Vega*, and three privately owned vessels from New Zealand also took part in the protest.



Their mission has taken on new importance since the South Pacific Forum's endorsement of a **South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty**, which bans the testing, manufacture and stationing of nuclear devices in the territories of participating states and confirms their sovereign right to make decisions about foreign access to their ports and airfields. Unfortunately, since the treaty cannot stop French testing, prevent U.S. warships from calling at ports that still welcome them, exclude nuclear-armed vessels of either superpower from the ocean or ban Australian uranium exports, the zone will be nuclear free in name only.

However, the peace movement in **Australia** (which initiated the N.F.Z. treaty in 1983 and is getting good propaganda mileage out of it) is pressing to shut down three major U.S. bases when their leases begin to come up for renegotiation next year. The most important, North West Cape, is the command center for U.S. submarines patrolling the Pacific; the others, Pine Gap and Nurrungar, may play a key role in the Star Wars plan. The movement's campaign against the mining and export of uranium was supported this summer by the Seattle-based yacht *Pacific Peacemaker*, which joined a floating demonstration to protest a shipment to England and West Germany from Darwin harbor. *Peacemaker* is working to publicize the role of uranium in the nuclear cycle and in the oppression of those who live where it is mined, from native Americans to black South Africans.

• The recent **North Atlantic Network** conference in Bergen, Norway, made progress toward establishing an international ports network to inform activists of visits by nuclear-armed ships and to coordinate protests. The network enabled Dutch activists to greet the U.S.S. *Iowa* when it visited Amsterdam in September, and to link their opposition to the Tomahawk-carrying ship with the campaign against its homeporting in New York City.

—Maria Margaronis

Star Struck

Tracking Space Weapons



In his new book, *Star Warriors*, New York Times science writer William Broad spends a week with the young scientists at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory—"Livermorons" (as the group members sometimes call themselves). Broad waits until the epilogue to conclude that it would be folly to use Star Wars as anything other than a bargaining chip, because it would intensify the arms race.

Throughout the book, however, the development in 1980 of the bomb-pumped X-ray laser by Peter Hagelstein is alluded to as the heroic victory that has won glory for the lab and hope for Star Wars. That struggle was motivated, Broad writes, chiefly by Hagelstein's competition with another scientist, but it was strongly colored by his professed moral objections to bomb-related work and by his romance with Josephine Stein, an engineer who went on to become one of the principal organizers of High Technology Professionals for Peace, a national group based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The book implies that Hagelstein's break with Stein led to his work on the nuclear laser, which in turn led to the Star Wars proposal.



Josie Stein

Stein, a viola player and a Quaker who holds a Ph.D. in mechanical engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), spent a year in and out of Livermore in 1979, when she worked at the University of California. During that period she began dating Hagelstein, a friend from MIT.

In a recent interview, Stein downplayed her romance with Hagelstein as a factor in her later work as a scientist and an antinuclear activist, saying that exposure to several individuals caught between their beliefs and their jobs influenced her decision to work for peaceful scientific research. Recently, in a speech to a Cornell University group working on a petition drive against Star Wars, Stein described someone she called "Ms. Neutron Bomb"—a friend who was shocked to learn that she had been doing research to help build the controversial weapon.

"You never know how you are going to

react [to doing weapons work] until it happens," says Stein, who is now studying weapons issues as a post-doctoral fellow at Princeton University. Scientists, she believes, require a stronger education in the humanities and they need to understand the context and issues outside the projects they are working on. Stein, when counselling weapons workers for High Tech Professionals, had the advantage of being an "insider" herself. She knows how critical defense department funding is for her colleagues; she understands the basic physics and engineering involved in much of the work; and she has already heard most of the counter-arguments, some of them originating from the bright young scientists at Livermore who appear in *Star Warriors*.

Stein says she spent many nights arguing with Hagelstein over the work he was doing. Initially, Hagelstein was interested in the laser's application for medical—not military—purposes. Hagelstein argued that he was only using the weapons lab as a place to conduct non-military work. Stein would point to the barbed wire around the compound and the security passes used by workers, and tell him he was naive. Frustrated by these arguments, Stein began thinking about the political forces that provided Hagelstein with the opportunity to work on the laser in a weapons lab—or nowhere else.

Star Warriors treats the Stein-Hagelstein relationship, which Broad considers the center of the book, very discreetly. (Stein served as a technical consultant on the book and reviewed it in the manuscript stage.) Broad, however, does describe how Hagelstein became depressed when they broke up—he took to listening to nothing but requiems on his stereo. He plunged deeper into his X-ray laser work, and began exploring ways to power it with a nuclear bomb.

At this point in the book Josie Stein disappears. She continued on the road to antinuclear activity (and High Tech Professionals) after she returned to MIT and met scientists like herself who were opposed to weapons work. They were a welcome change from the protesters at Livermore who, she says, were too anti-technology. Today Stein dreams about international cooperation in the exploration of space. Does it bother her that her former boyfriend produced something that may lead to an arms race in space? Stein says she is personally concerned about Hagelstein because he is doing work he once thought was wrong. She wants to help change the way research is funded in this country so more people have an opportunity to pursue their dreams—without working on weapons.

—Douglas Lavin

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BRIDGING THE COMMUNICATIONS GAP

The Media And The Movement

On Tuesday, July 30, 1985, in a hastily called press conference at the Rayburn House Office Building in Washington, D.C., several leading arms control experts, including Senator Edward Kennedy and former CIA director William Colby, explained why the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, announced the day before, merited serious consideration by the American public and government. Although nearly 20 print and television reporters, including representatives from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and national television networks, covered the conference, hardly a word about it appeared in the nation's press or over the airwaves. Movement organizers were disappointed—and frustrated. "The press conference was a first," says Raoul Rosenberg, associate director of Physicians for Social Responsibility, one of the groups that organized the event. "We mounted a fast, professional response [to breaking news]. It didn't seem to matter."

This media boycott illuminates the hurdles blocking the antinuclear movement's bid to be heard. And though those obstacles may seem formidable—the current Administration seems to manipulate the media with unprecedented skill—the movement is at last jumping into the fray. Suddenly, national media projects are proliferating as efforts are made to provide what many term the "missing link" in movement strategy.

"For years, this movement has neglected the media," says Richard Pollock, who heads up the Peace Media Project in Washington, D.C. "Now there are so many campaigns. But I say it's better to have too many than not enough."

Fortunately, since no two are exactly alike, the projects could work well together if coordinated closely (another movement sore point). But do any of these efforts really have the slightest chance of success, given the current structure of the movement, its financial base, and its relations with the American public, Congress, and the press?

TURNABOUT FOR THE MOVEMENT

After over three months of research involving 13 paid associates, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) is about to release *Turnabout*, a report on national communications, compiled by strategic planning consultants John Marttila and Tom Kiley. The



\$160,000 project (financed largely by Joan Kroc) leaves little doubt that the movement has an enormous job ahead of it. Through in-depth interviews with 100 of the nation's top journalists and roughly 40 members of Congress, and a survey of over 1000 Americans, the report sheds some harsh light on the movement's national profile.

"I can't stress enough that the key, enduring, non-trendy foundation for all communications programs is thinking about strategy that will affect coverage," says John Marttila in his Boston office. "There can be no quick-hit solution through advertising. Advertising can only be used to supplement P.R. initiatives. To think that ads can be used to move American opinion is ridiculous. There will never, never be enough money."

Instead, Marttila and Kiley—and WAND—hope to make people aware of the Reagan Administration's superb media manipulation, and of the movement's corresponding failure to communicate its side of the story. Each section of their report offers a series of strategic recommendations for improved relations with the press, Congress and the general public.

Some of the movement's problems are obvious: Most groups, for example, do not have full-time press secretaries. "We called a meeting for the media directors

and press secretaries of 20 national groups in Washington, D.C.," recalls Diane Aronson, administrative director of WAND. "Two showed up."

WAND's report shows that this basic, structural disadvantage has taken its toll: The attitude of journalists toward the movement "goes beyond normal, healthy skepticism," says John Marttila, who has run successful political campaigns for Representative Ed Markey, Senator John Kerry, and Madeleine Kunin, governor of Vermont. "They view this as a social movement rather than a movement with good ideas. We were taken aback by their lack of respect—particularly the Washington reporters."

In politics, Marttila points out, the battleground is the press. "You've got to be on the phone all the time," Marttila says. "One NBC newsman told me that there's been nothing but a deafening silence from the progressive community, whereas the Reagan Administration is all over them." Marttila also points out that the freeze, based on the report's interviews, is not taken seriously by the press. "There's something wrong," he says, "when so many people and so much effort are going into something that is not highly regarded by the very people writing about it."

A lack of candid communication also exists between members of Congress and the movement, the report says.

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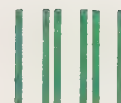
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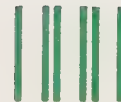
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According to Marttila, several legislators said they held few hopes that the movement would listen to them, even if their voting records were generally favorable to the movement. Other legislators, who believe that the movement is advocating ideas that are politically and substantially incorrect, feel that activists are not at all interested in discussing their differences of opinion.

But Marttila and Aronson do not want to give the impression that the situation is hopeless. "There are many opportunities for the movement to break through on," says Aronson.

MONITORING MOOD

People serious about "selling peace" must, before anything else, undertake the enormously complicated task of analyzing the mood of the country. After all, the White House conducts four opinion polls a month.

In the past year, the movement has begun to pay closer attention to polling and poll results. SANE and the Center for Defense Information, for example, recently commissioned an opinion poll showing that the American public favors a U.S. nuclear testing moratorium (as long as it's also undertaken by the Soviets) by a margin of two-to-one. "We commissioned the poll to confirm that the public did indeed support a moratorium," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE. "But—just as important—we

wanted to use that information as a media story. A poll of this sort can be a powerful form of political lobbying if used in the right ways." Cortright reports that the poll results were picked up on the Associated Press wire.

As for the ambitious WAND public opinion poll (*See Box*), both Marttila's and Aronson's initial reactions are cautiously pessimistic; with over 500 pages of cross-tabulations to absorb, they are reluctant to jump to conclusions. In fact, they postponed a press conference on the poll in order to step back and analyze the data, which was less hopeful than expected.

"It is very sobering," Aronson comments. "It looks to be more conservative than anyone would like to have seen. The country is more polarized than we imagined. A lot of people seem to be attracted to power and strength—we noticed a lot of 'Rambo' personalities."

Richard Pollock's Peace Media Project recently compiled its own "public attitude" report using existing polls and drawing on interviews with leading pollsters, advertisers, media consultants and creative producers. (Many of Pollock's recommendations for improving the peace movement's public image, overall structure and priorities, are echoed in the WAND report.) Although Pollock is waiting to see *Turnabout* before proceeding with

his own agenda, he is (among other things) encouraging the movement to mount strategic, escalating public relations campaigns around issues that are "value-oriented"—the Geneva Summit and military spending emerged as "salient" themes—using advertising as a final (not a preliminary) tactic. And, Pollock stresses, advertising must ask people to *do* something—support a bill, send money, vote for someone.

CONCEPTUAL THINKING

One thing that every peace media organizer has in common: Much of what they know about mass communication has been learned at the knee of such conservative groups as the American Security Council, who typically use "concept" campaigns to win points with the public. Evocative messages like "Peace through Strength" pack a punch with people on a gut level.

It's not going to be nearly as easy, however, for the antinuclear movement—even if it is armed with reams of polling data—to appeal to America's gut. Many recent surveys, including the Yankelovich data, show that most people are turned off to nuclear issues because of terror and a profound sense of personal powerlessness.

"There is enormous hunger for the message that personal involvement is possible, and can make a difference," says Gil Friend, president of the Foun-

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DEMOCRAT AND CHRONICLE,
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, AUGUST 6, 1985

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE,
NEW YORK, DECEMBER 2, 1984

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dation for the Arts of Peace in Berkeley, California. (The group is best known for its marketing of the television show "In Our Defense," which has been aired on over 150 commercial stations across the country.)

Since late spring, Friend's project, "Marketing Peace," has been recruiting advertising executives (who are themselves relieved to be hawking something other than lipstick and cars) to come up with campaigns that will break through the paralyzing sense of helplessness. "We want to touch people very deeply in an emotional way," Friend says. "We cannot continue to tell people how bad things are."

Friend feels that the movement has more than enough polls to work with, and is concentrating instead on carefully designed "focus" groups to round out, with qualitative data, the quantitative data gleaned from polls. From this research, Friend says, he expects several positive, evocative messages to emerge, which will then be used in a nationwide advertising campaign in both the print and electronic media. "We don't know yet what the messages will be," Friend says. "But we do think that themes along the lines of 'It can be done' and 'You can help' will be featured. And there will probably be a sequence of messages that will build, and be demographically different." The ads might suggest groups to join or contact for information. And Friend hopes



Aronson, Friend, Turner, Pollock (clockwise from top l.): Communication buffs

that they will compliment efforts which focus on more specific issues, like the military budget.

Friend envisions getting this "irresistible" message out through traditional nonprofit funding. But he also plans to approach major corporations for financial backing—the "Brought to you by Exxon" route. And he wants to donate the proj-

ect's creative concepts to selected corporate advertisers for use in their own "identity" campaigns, much in the way AT&T keyed into the LIVE AID concert.

With the marketing of "In Our Defense" under its belt, Friend says the Foundation will rely heavily on television to spread its message, claiming that it's not as expensive as people think. "We've got to use TV more," Friend says. "People in environmental and peace groups are a subculture. Many of them think TV's tacky. We have to decide if we're committed to this subculture or to changing the world. We can't say that television is sleazy. So what? Eighty-four percent of America gets its election information from TV. If we're too holy to get down in the trenches to do battle, we may as well hand it over to the American Security Council. We ignore TV at our peril."

That's no news to Ted Turner, who has given seed money to form the Better World Society (BWS), a new organization, based in Washington, D.C., devoted entirely to getting antinuclear, environmental and population-control programs on America's airwaves.

"We want our programs to serve as mobilizers," says BWS President Thomas Belford. "We'll be pointing viewers to organizations. We'll be providing information on groups. We'll be profiling individuals active in the movement. We'd consider it a missed opportunity to use all this broadcast time and not tell people how to get involved."

While most of BWS's programs are still being developed, Belford says that they will focus on hope. "We believe that everybody can make a difference," Belford says, "and we hope to relay this optimism to our viewers." For example, BWS will present one of its first productions in mid-November, timed for the Geneva Summit. The show, called "Challenge of the Caucasus," depicts a U.S./Soviet mountain-climbing team successfully scaling the highest peak in the Soviet Union. The analogy to mutual survival, Belford hopes, will not be lost on viewers.

Shows produced by BWS will be "fair game" for network or public television stations to pick up. But, Belford says, Turner Broadcasting, which reaches 35 million households, is their guarantee for air time. BWS plans to maximize the use of its productions by distributing them to the grass roots through home video cassettes, schools and libraries, and civic and public interest organizations. "The most important thing we're trying to do, though," says Belford, "is get that long-term, ongoing programming on television."

Another promising television effort is

WAND Poll: Early Returns

- When asked whose information they'd trust most in a debate over U.S./Soviet nuclear policy, 58 percent of those polled ranked the Reagan Administration first or second, over military experts (51 percent), CBS News (40 percent) and freeze experts (22 percent).

- Despite this show of trust in the President, 46 percent said they believed that his policies are based on fighting and winning a nuclear war, and 58 percent said that "Reagan is actually trying to gain superiority over the Russians."

- Sixty-one percent of those polled consider themselves "very patriotic," 34 percent "somewhat patriotic," and 3 percent "not very patriotic." But 68 percent feel that protesting Reagan's nuclear policies is patriotic, while 20 percent feel it's unpatriotic.

- Thirty-eight percent said they were "in sympathy" with the anti-nuclear weapons movement, 53 percent "not in sympathy."

- When asked if there was a particular period when they felt the

possibility of a nuclear war erupting was stronger than at any other time, the public ranked the Cuban Missile Crisis first, followed by the "President Reagan period." Ranking 10th was "After the nuclear movie," presumably a reference to *The Day After*.

- Only 29 percent thought that the Geneva Summit would be "very helpful" in reducing the chances of nuclear war and improving our relations with the USSR. But thirty-five percent thought a mutual ban on nuclear weapons testing would be "very helpful."

- Sixty-four percent of those polled were not aware of the ABM Treaty. Thirty-four percent had never heard of the Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter.

- Thirty six percent believe that the United States should take a dramatic new step to reverse the arms race, even if there's a risk that the Soviets will mistake it as a sign of weakness. But 56 percent believe that we should continue to follow the same policies we've been following in recent years.

(For information on obtaining a copy of "Turnabout," contact: WAND Education Fund, 691 Massachusetts Ave, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.)

the "Popularizing Peace Task Force," headed up by Norman Fleishman, who, in recent years, has gotten progressive messages on network dramas by cultivating relationships with prominent actors, directors and producers. (As a result, in some circles he's known as Hollywood's "conscience.") Working with a team of writers, editors, business leaders and entertainers, Fleishman will appeal to middle America's survival instinct through an escalating campaign involving television programming, advertising and celebrity spokespeople.

MOVING TO THE WRITE

There is a growing consensus that without mounting ongoing, centralized, focused media campaigns, the movement will continue to be seen as amorphous, with no clear agenda or readily accessible message. "Our whole hope is that groups—by looking at the issue through the prism of this WAND report—will become sensitized to why strategic planning and coordination are essential," John Marttila says. "The movement must begin to work together more—to meet every two weeks and decide which issues to hit."

But even before the WAND report is released, steps are being taken to improve movement coordination, both internally and externally. Every media project director hopes to hook up with other media initiatives; tentative plans are being made for a central meeting of all project leaders. There is talk of establishing one movement media center in Washington, D.C., where groups can work together on specific press campaigns. And for the last six months, press secretaries from eight national groups in Washington, D.C., calling themselves the Working Press Group, have met regularly to discuss strategy and share resources.

In addition to coordination, there is a need for spokespersons with strong, clear credentials. This presents an obstacle, since the movement has traditionally been anti-hierarchical, shying away from cultivating visible leaders. As a result, aside from several arms control experts, there are few accessible movement spokespeople for the media to contact routinely.

But now, the Arms Control Association (ACA) and the Committee for National Security (CNS), both based in Washington, have been given an initial grant of \$250,000 by a celebrity funder to constantly brief a large group of experts, such as Paul Warnke, Robert McNamara and William Colby, who will then be in a position to provide prompt responses and counterviews to Administration policy.

"We will brief Washington, D.C., reporters frequently, and we'll be sending regular press advisories to journalists

outside of Washington," says Ann Cahn, executive director of CNS. ACA and CNS intend to set up a telephone hotline service to handle media queries. Each group will give two full-time staff people to the effort. "We want to be proactive, not reactive," Cahn says. "We'll be thinking ahead to critical decision points."

Another effort, undertaken by the National Communications Consortium, a project of the Tides Foundation in San Francisco, aims to compile a master press list of key reporters nationwide that could eventually—in six to nine months—be shared by the movement. This group plans to coordinate with Cahn's project and supply celebrities and less well-known experts to the CNS/ACA pool.

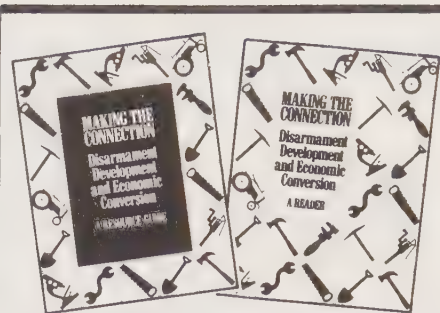
But a well-run, coordinated media strategy is bound to be a financial drain on the movement. How can it ever hope to sustain a far-reaching, professional public relations campaign?

John Marttila recommends one basic strategy: Make membership recruitment a priority. "The Right goes out and says, 'Write a check,'" Marttila says. "They have master mailing lists and computers. Out of the core contributors, or members, come your volunteers. If individual organizations were committed to building a members' base, the funds would be available for media work. There would be movement stability, and an impressive network of people." WAND, for one, has now taken on the goal of going out and launching an aggressive membership drive.

But not everyone agrees that emulating the right wing's strategy is necessarily a strategic stroke of brilliance. "The right wing is successful because it is built on a system of already existing beliefs, fears and prejudices," says Richard Healey, executive director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C. "Our task is fundamentally different. We have to overcome deepset fears of not just the Soviets, but everything that's foreign. Americans have this 'Back off—we're going to be the toughest kid on the block' attitude." Healey, agreeing with Marttila on at least one point, believes that the movement must grow considerably before it can even hope to compete with the well-established communications network of the Right.

Whatever approaches are taken, it's going to take a good deal of national coordination—perhaps even national consolidation—to begin to mount a serious P.R. campaign. It's going to mean dealing simultaneously with the American public, Congress, the press, and each other in a perpetual four-dimensional chess match. The movement must decide now to either forfeit the game—or get serious about media strategy.

—Renata Rizzo



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BY RANDY KEHLER

Toward A New Patriotism

Why is it that a large majority of our fellow citizens support important objectives of the peace movement—for example, freezing the nuclear arms race, and establishing peaceful relations with Nicaragua—but seem not to support the peace movement itself? It may be that many Americans feel caught in a bind between conscience and culture. They genuinely believe, for instance, that nuclear weapons are highly dangerous as well as morally repugnant. But they also share the prevailing cultural attitude that protest and dissent are “unpatriotic.”

The bind is paralyzing, and it constitutes a major obstacle to the peace movement.

Recently, on a beautiful Sunday evening, I found myself sitting among a crowd of 4000 people assembled on the bank of the Cumberland River in Nashville. The largest peace gathering in recent Nashville history was just getting underway: a commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. One of the organizers leaned over to offer some advice about the short speech I was about to give.

“I know you’re going to emphasize the importance of the Soviet Union’s unilateral testing moratorium,” she said, “and I think you *should*. But I just want

to remind you that this is Tennessee and not Massachusetts. Most of these people here are pretty conservative, and patriotic.” I swallowed hard and told myself that this was the time to say something I’d never said before, something that had been welling up inside me for a couple of years.

After Rosanne Cash and several of her country-music friends led us in singing “This land is your land, this land is my land,” it was my turn. I told the crowd the Soviet moratorium was probably the most significant initiative either country had taken in over 20 years. “But let us be perfectly clear,” I added. “When we protest our government’s initial rejection of the Soviet initiative, it is not because we are against our country. It is because we are *for* our country, because we *love* our country. ‘This land is your land and my land,’ and we have to protect it. Perhaps this is the meaning of patriotism in the nuclear age—recognizing that the interests of our country and those of the whole world can no longer be separated. And so when we protest a particular policy of a particular administration, let no one call us ‘unpatriotic.’ We are true patriots of the nuclear age.” The crowd roared its approval.

Like most of us in the peace movement, I used to feel patriotic toward my

country. The Vietnam War—and the two years I spent in federal prison for non-cooperation with the draft—changed all that, as it did for many others of my generation, and left a permanent scar. The American flag became an intolerable symbol, the “Pledge of Allegiance” an impossible oath.

Although the issue of patriotism came up often during my four years with the national Freeze Campaign, we ourselves never raised it. Our opposition did. Many people considered (and possibly still consider) us “disloyal” and “anti-American.” Our response was, of course, that stopping the nuclear arms race was in the best interests of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the whole world. But we never really went so far as to speak of “patriotism.”

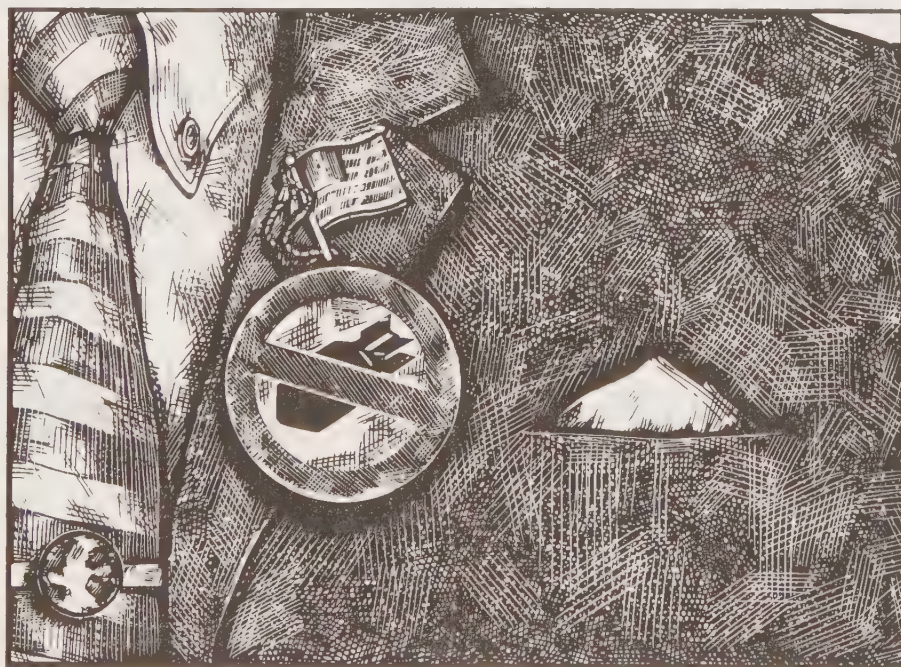
* * *

We in the peace movement tend to see the problems and obstacles before us largely in political and organizational terms. Yet we often speak of the seemingly inexplicable gap between citizen awareness and citizen action and wonder how people can understand the danger and immorality of the arms race and yet not get involved in actions to halt it. This suggests that the biggest obstacle to the movement’s growth may be cultural.

Most of those who know, or at least sense, that things in this country have gone awry—some things dangerously so—continue to find many things about our country that are valuable and ought to be appreciated. The fact that this tension or dichotomy is deliberately and cynically promoted by individuals in power makes it no less real and no less an obstacle.

It is tempting to think that we can bridge the “patriotism gulf” that seems to separate us from so many of our fellow citizens, most of whom do share our basic values (and many of our political objectives), simply by hiring a public relations firm to re-package the peace movement in red, white, and blue. If we just change our language, “clean up” our appearance, and adopt familiar symbols, perhaps the problem will go away.

I am convinced that this would be the wrong approach, or at least it is the wrong place to begin. If we really want to bridge the gulf we have to start with ourselves, by painstakingly examining our own thoughts and feelings about our country. The “P.R.” approach will ring hollow



(like George Bush pretending to the Far Right that he's a macho Texan) if it doesn't come from the heart. As some of my religious friends would say, "There's no such thing as cheap grace."

In my own case, it has been very hard to think, explicitly, about "loving my country." Those words never even came to mind. It was almost as though in order to remain true to the genuine feelings of horror and revulsion I experienced during the Vietnam War—or to similar feelings I now have regarding, for example, U.S. aid to the "Contras"—I had to repress any positive feelings I had toward this country. Now, however, I am slowly realizing that in fact I do love my country—in the sense that I genuinely appreciate and care for many aspects of it.

I find that I am able to love my country despite its monumental failures just as I am able to love particular individuals whose flaws are sometimes enormous. In neither case is this the love of blind allegiance ("my country right or wrong") nor does it require being better than everyone else ("USA—Number One!"). To a large extent it is a love born of familiarity, which may breed contempt on occasion, but over time usually produces a deep affection and attachment.

Looking back, I can see that one expression of this attachment was my firm decision to stay in this country and face prison during the Vietnam War, rather than flee to Canada; I couldn't stand the idea of the war perpetrators forcing me to leave my own country.

More and more this kind of attachment, and affection, translates for me into particular people and places. When I think about "my country," the country I love, I can't help but think of the rolling hills and old country roads, the historic villages and feisty Yankees of Western Massachusetts where I've now spent nearly half my life. In recent years I have also come to love the little farmhouse and piece of farmland that we have been trying to care for and make habitable and productive again. In a recent talk on national security, Kentucky poet and farmer Wendell Berry touched on the meaning of this kind of affection when he said, "Any people who hope to be capable of national defense must love their country with the particularizing passion of people who love their homes and land."

There are other things I care about. I very much appreciate the optimistic, "can do" idealism that runs all through our history and is still evident today. I admire the spirit of practical ingenuity and self-reliance that is especially strong in rural parts of this country. I also appreciate the political freedoms embodied in our Bill of Rights (and I know how easy they are to take for granted). The very fact that we can have a Freeze

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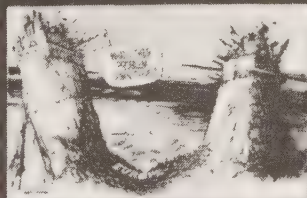
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Campaign or a Pledge of Resistance network, openly protest government policies and organize opposition, gives testimony to these freedoms. So does the fact that we have such a thing as a Freedom of Information Act which, as British journalist William Shawcross put it in his book *Sideshow*, "recognizes rights of citizens that are hardly to be conceived anywhere else in the world."

While our system has major flaws (the disproportionate influence of wealth on public policy is no small defect), I also know how important and valuable is our Constitutionally-anchored commitment to democratic government.

We in the peace movement are frequently accused of being "against" everything and not "for" anything, but I can say that besides being "for" a halt to the arms race and to military interventions I am very much "for" democracy. To date we have made far too little of this. Connecticut author and Freeze activist David Keppel argues persuasively that the Freeze Campaign's organizing tactics—town meetings, local and state referenda, signature gathering, and so forth—"are not just ways of achieving the freeze: They are exercises for a [democratic] society."

Our efforts to revitalize American democracy should not pit citizens against their government (the hollow Reagan theme), but should insist that citizens be involved in and take responsibility for their government—through protest and resistance as well as legislative and electoral activities. The central problem is not that government is "too big" (although that may be true), but that it is largely unaccountable. Democracy cannot be a spectator sport; it works only if we get in there and make it work.

COMMON DEFENSE

There is another aspect to patriotism, however, besides loving one's country and being "for" various things one's country stands for. Webster's defines a "patriot" as "a person who loves his [sic] country and defends and promotes its interests" (italics mine). The essential questions are, What are its interests? And by what means does one defend and protect them?

My own evolving answers to these questions have not only to do with certain moral imperatives but, increasingly, with the survival imperatives of the nuclear age. In its preamble, the U.S. Constitution lists as one of the Constitution's purposes, "To provide for the common defense." Whereas 200 years ago "common" referred to all 13 colonies, it now must refer to all people everywhere. And the armed violence by which the Constitution's framers meant to

defend and protect their fragile and imperilled republic must now be replaced by a no less active or ambitious nonviolence capable of defending and protecting our fragile and imperilled planet.

The single most important axiom of the nuclear age is this: No people or nation can be secure as long as others are insecure—we must strive for common security for all, or else there will be no security for any. This is especially true among nuclear-armed nations. But because more and more nations are acquiring nuclear weapons, and because the affairs and well-being of those who already have them (the East-West powers) are increasingly intertwined with the affairs and well-being of those without them (the Third World nations), the axiom must apply to all.

The implications of this common-security axiom are far-reaching. Certainly it requires alleviating some of the major causes of conflict in the world. Specifically, the poisonous and artificially-inflated East-West enmity must be overcome, and the inequitable, exploitative relationship between North and South must end. These goals point to what I consider to be the paramount "interests" of my country, interests I believe in "defending and promoting," interests for which I am prepared to make personal sacrifices and take personal risks. It is in pursuit of these interests that I believe I can best protect my country and all those things I love about it.

COMMON SENSE

Despite all this, I confess to a lingering malaise concerning the word "patriotism" itself. Its patriarchal roots I find offensive, especially in light of our long, sad history of wars, violence, and oppression so often conducted under its misguided banner. I must also say that the American flag, like the wrathful bald eagle, still arouses in me as many negative emotions as positive. And I'm still not sure I could stand with my hand over my heart and recite, with seeming obedience, the "Pledge of Allegiance" (despite my belief in "liberty and justice for all").

Is either the word or the concept redeemable? I don't know. But it seems worth a try. Not as a gimmick or ploy, but as a genuine, heartfelt effort to communicate with our more mainstream neighbors and fellow citizens, and, more broadly, to begin the kind of transformation of cultural values that is required if all that we love and cherish in our country and the world is to survive.

I have a hunch that if we could somehow eradicate or at least diminish the apparent contradiction that so many Americans feel between protesting what they know to be wrong and remaining

faithful to the country they love, an unprecedented new social force for peace might be unleashed.

We must aim to create what Lawrence Goodwyn (author of *The Populist Movement*) calls "a visible new public ethic." The essential underlying principles of this new ethic, this "new patriotism," must be two-fold. The first principle is inward-looking, toward our own country: In a democracy, protest is patriotic. The second is outward-looking, toward the world: common security or no security.

Is today's peace movement capable of initiating this new public ethic? I think we've never been in a better position to do so. To some extent, the process of initiating this new ethic has already begun. Important discussions are taking place all over the country concerning the necessity and implications of a world "beyond war," and peace advocates are involved in a growing number of efforts to find "common ground" with people of opposing views. But for the most part this process—particularly as it relates to the question of patriotism—is not explicit, and rarely is it the dominant theme of our work. I am convinced that it must become so.

The first step, however, is for us as individuals, and for the peace movement as a whole, to come to terms with not only our unpatriotic public image, but, more importantly, our personal feelings that are at least partially responsible for that image. We need to set aside time to talk about this, to write about it, to discuss its implications for our work.

It has been said many times, particularly by revolutionaries, that it is impossible to change your country if you do not love it. In fact, this may be our single most important lesson as we dig in for the long haul. I hope the day is not far off when we will be able to declare, publicly and proudly, our love for our country and our allegiance to the principles of democracy upon which our country was founded. Then we will cease being apologetic about our protest, defensive about our dissent, embarrassed to be "disturbing the peace." I am not arguing for less sensitivity as to how our words and actions affect others—just the opposite. I am arguing for a "public relations campaign" that is rooted in a new boldness, a greater self-confidence, a genuine and radiating pride in knowing that, despite all our mistakes and unanswered questions, we are working to improve and protect the country and world that we love.

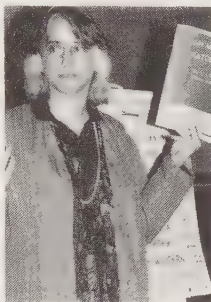
Randy Kehler headed the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign from 1981 to 1984.

Ideas That Work



While leading movement groups struggle to mount a national public relations campaign to counter Administration propaganda and propose positive antidotes to it, a new project is quietly hammering away along the same lines at the grass-roots level.

It began in August 1984, when Joan Bokaer, a 42-year-old grade school teacher from Ithaca, New York, gave a speech before a national gathering of Interhelp, a group which addresses the emotional difficulties posed by living with potential nuclear annihilation. In her 90-minute presentation, Bokaer outlined the assumptions that inform current U.S. nuclear policy, showing, logically and methodically, how it has come to embrace the once fringe position of planning to fight—and win—a nuclear war with the Soviet Union.



Joan Bokaer

This position has been cultivated with particular zeal by the ultra-conservative Committee on the Present Danger, whose members, Bokaer pointed out, hold no less than 50 key positions in the Reagan Administration.

Bokaer's Interhelp audience was impressed, and some immediately insisted that she take the talk on the road. Money was raised on the spot, office space was donated, and the Citizens Network, as it has come to be called, was born.

"She takes a unique approach by going behind the scenes," says Judy Wagner, director of educational programs for the WAND Educational Fund. "She puts it all together so that by the end of her talk you can see clearly who's calling the shots on our nuclear policy. While I may have known all this intuitively, I never did the research to confirm what I thought. She gave substance to my suspicions." Helen and William Caldicott saw the talk and gave it an unequivocal endorsement, calling it "one of the most brilliant, rational, unemotional and evocative presentations we have ever heard." (Bokaer reports that Helen Caldicott plans to give the speech in Australia and Europe.) WAND has now "adopted" the talk, seeing it as a good complement to its ongoing speaker training program, and has included a Citizens Network flier—

and an endorsement from the national office—in a recent nationwide mailing.

What makes Bokaer's talk particularly useful to the grass roots is that it's packaged for wide dissemination. The 54-page speaker's kit is crammed with a transcript of the talk, original background sources, charts, suggested reading, a list of movement groups and resources, sample press releases and fliers. Bokaer even gives advice on what to wear and the care and feeding of your audience.

Bokaer, who now works out of donated space at Cornell University, reports that she's sold over 500 speaker's kits on her treks around the country. (In one three-month period Bokaer spoke in seven states.) Generally, she talks to and trains members of movement groups, but she's also penetrated such mainstream bastions as the Harvard Club. Middle-of-the-road Americans are receptive to the talk, Bokaer says, because she does not editorialize; in a matter-of-fact (some have termed it "dead pan") way she simply offers up the pronouncements of various Administration officials, articles by Present Danger members, and information from the Pentagon's infamous Five Year Defense Plan. One Bokaer trainee, the wife of a Strategic Air Command officer in Omaha, Nebraska, gave the talk at the Officers' Wives Club; a doctor in Michigan delivered the speech to his town's Rotary Club and then went on local television to debate a member of the American Security Council. And in San Francisco, the talk was aired on a public radio station.

Bokaer knows that people tend to glaze over and drift away when confronted with an overload of military information, so her talk is long on concept and short on statistics. She also stops the presentation several times to give audiences a chance to discuss what they've heard. And at the talk's conclusion, she opens the floor for brainstorming on possible citizen initiatives to counter the country's institutionalized first-strike policy.

WAND's Wagner cautions that activists who wish to give the talk should do a good deal of homework first. "Bokaer has a real advantage in giving the speech, since she was the one to do the research and legwork," Wagner says. "For everyone else, it's a secondhand story." But she believes that there are ways for activists to revise the talk to include personal experiences and insights without weakening its impact.

Bokaer's Citizens Network offers speaker's kits for \$20 each, as well as audio tapes. To get more information, or to arrange for a speakers' training workshop, contact: Citizens Network, Anabel Taylor Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853 (607) 256-6486. —Renata Rizzo

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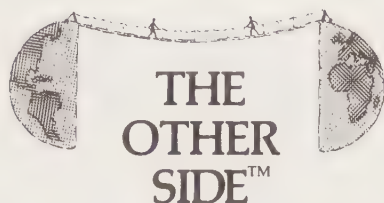
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Resources

FILMS AND SLIDES

Women—for America, for the World. This 28-minute film produced by Vivienne Verdon-Roe aims to inspire and give confidence to women who have been previously uninvolved in speaking out on the arms race and world affairs. Those interviewed range from celebrities (such as Ellen Goodman, Joanne Woodward and Geraldine Ferraro) to a therapist and a black union leader. A training program for women taking their first step into activism has been set up in conjunction with the film. (For prices, contact the Educational Film and Video Project, 1529 Josephine Street, Berkeley, CA 94703 415-849-1649.)

The Equipment of Peace is a 15-minute film strip with audio tape on the history of war, and how to preserve peace through international law, world courts, and peacemaking forces under international control. It draws a contemporary analogy with frontier days, when the Colt revolver was known as the "equalizer" between the strong and the weak. Nowadays, nuclear weapons "are becoming the 'equalizers' between big nations and small." In describing the 1950s plan called *World Peace Through World Law*, which would strengthen the peacemaking and peacekeeping role of the United Nations, the text notes that nations would probably have trouble with their loss of complete independence under world law, but church leaders—notably in the 1983 Catholic bishops' pastoral letter—are now calling for such commitments. (\$15 postpaid from the Office of Interpretation, Presbyterian Church (USA), 341 Ponce de Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA 30365.)

The Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War offers a set of 18 color slides on nuclear winter, produced by Dr. Starley Thompson of the National Center for Atmospheric Research. The slides, using the results of the latest global computer model simulations, show smoke spreading in various scenarios of nuclear war and the subsequent effects on the earth's temperature. (\$20 for slides and text from the Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War, 1350 New York Avenue NW, Third Floor, Washington, DC 20005 202-393-1448.)

Look to the Women for Courage is a 42-minute slide show describing the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, in Romulus, New York, at the Seneca Army Depot, the final departure point for the cruise and Pershing missiles to be deployed in

Europe. The slides trace the opening of the camp, how it operates by consensus decision-making, the women's protests and acts of civil disobedience outside the Depot, and the subsequent trial of 54 women. The slide show comes with a disarmament organizers' packet. (\$35 rental plus postage and handling from Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20008 202-234-2000.)

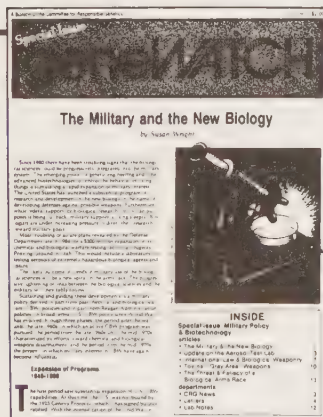
FOR KIDS

Gladdys Makes Peace, by Jan Hogan, illustrated by Jeanine Wine, is the story of Gladdys Muir (1895-1967), a teaching pioneer who founded the first peace studies program in the world. The book describes Gladdys' childhood and formative years in rhyme, and is an attractive way of introducing younger children to the idea of commitment to peace work. (\$5.95 hardcover from Brethren Press, 1451 Dundee Avenue, Elgin, IL 60120.) **We Can Do It! A Kid's Peace Book.** This colorfully-illustrated 36-page booklet aims to gently inform and activate young children, using a dictionary-type format. ("B" is for Banner, "H" is for Hiroshima, "Z" is for Zone, as in "nuclear-free"). Along the way, kids are shown and told how they can make a difference in stopping the arms race, and it closes with pages on which letters can be written to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. (\$1 for 1 to 10, 80¢ for 10 to 100, and so on, available from Namchi United Enterprises, PO Box 33852, Station D, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6J 4L6 604-733-4886.)

A Matter of Struggle, directed by Joan Harvey. Two girls, Meagan, 10, and Toni, 8, tour the United States with singer-activist Richie Havens. To the tune of his songs—and one that Meagan composes—they learn about the effects of Reagan's budget cuts, inflated defense spending, and what protesters are doing to continue the struggle. (\$95 video rental plus \$5 shipping [\$10 west of the Mississippi] from Parallel Films, 314 West 91 Street, New York, NY 10024 212-580-3888 or 212-877-1573.)

GUIDES

Fundraising for Social Change, by Kim Klein, is aimed at grass-roots groups with budgets of under \$500,000. The author concentrates on how to raise money from foundations and from individuals via direct mail, phone campaigns, and canvassing. Each chapter in this 208-page book describes case studies of actual organizations, and the book's bibliography and appendices are excellent. (\$19.95 paperback, plus \$1.95 postage and handling from CRG Press, PO Box 42120, Washington, DC 20015



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The Nuclear Waste Primer: A Handbook for Citizens, by The League of Women Voters Education Fund. An excellent 96-page introduction to the issue, complete with tips on how to get involved in the decision-making process. (\$11.95 hardcover, \$5.95 paper, from Nick Lyons Books, 31 West 21 Street, New York, NY 10010 212-620-9580.)

Where Do We Go From Here? collects responses to a questionnaire sent out to peace activists by editor Marty Jezer seeking new "tactics and strategies for the peace movement." The respondents, notes Jezer, a former WIN magazine editor, do not reflect a movement cross-section (they're mostly from the "left" side) but they do have some interesting things to say about coalition building, civil disobedience, the Soviet Union and whether or not nuclear war takes precedence over other issues. Contributors include Todd Gitlin, Alexander Cockburn, Pam McAllister, Anne Braden and Carl Oglesby. (\$3, or \$1 each for 10 or more, from A.J. Muste Memorial Institute, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.)

BOOKS

The Deadly Connection: Nuclear War & U.S. Intervention, edited by Joseph Gerson. This compilation of papers delivered at "Deadly Connection" conferences around the country (and other chapters written specially for this book) raises nuclear weapons issues in the context of overall U.S. military strategy and foreign policy. It includes essays by Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Michael Klare, Christopher Paine and Paul Walker, among others, as well as close-up looks at the Middle East, Korea, the Philippines and South Africa. (\$8.95 paper, plus \$1.50 shipping, from New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.)

Psychological Aspects of Nuclear War, by James Thompson. This statement, adopted as policy by the British Psychological Society in 1982, describes research that has been done on anxiety about the threat of nuclear war, and what can be predicted about the stress that survivors of nuclear catastrophe would suffer. The report draws on several classic studies of the aftermath of natural disasters and unforeseen accidents. (\$9.95 paperback from John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158 212-850-6497.)

The Heavy Dancers: Writings on Wars, Past and Future, by E.P. Thompson. In this odd assortment of essays and poetry from the past 30 years, British historian and peace activist Thompson repeatedly sounds Cold War themes and the problems

activists in the West must face in dealing with their Soviet bloc counterparts. In the most timely moments Thompson takes on Star Wars and Caspar Weinberger. He singles out for censure what he calls the "heavy dancers"—media and public officials who he says call for peace while conditioning us to prepare for war. (\$9.95 paperback, Pantheon.)

Fathering the Unthinkable: Masculinity, Scientists, and the Nuclear Arms Race, by Brian Easlea. This memoir by a nuclear physicist argues that "the nuclear arms race is in large part underwritten by masculine behavior in the pursuit and application of scientific inquiry." Dominated by male scientists, nuclear science is particularly dangerous because it really is "efficacious, and therefore for the first time in history provides significant power over nature but provides it for men who are, to say the very least, humanly ill-equipped to make wise use of that power." Easlea's book is an interesting sociological and philosophical survey of nuclear science as a male war against "female" nature. (\$8.95 paperback, Pluto Press, 51 Washington Street, Dover, NH 03820.)



Entrance to Los Alamos

Los Alamos Experience, by Phyllis K. Fisher. As a complement to Easlea's book, a Manhattan Project physicist's wife describes her sojourn in the belly of the beast. She was a member of the community of 6000 people who lived in the insulated, secret community of Los Alamos, New Mexico, while the bomb was being invented. Particularly moving are her descriptions of her day-to-day tensions, and the anxiety she felt because her husband could tell her nothing about what he was doing. (\$14.95 hardback, Japan Publications, Inc., distributed by Kodansha International, 10 East 53 Street, New York, NY 10022.) ☐

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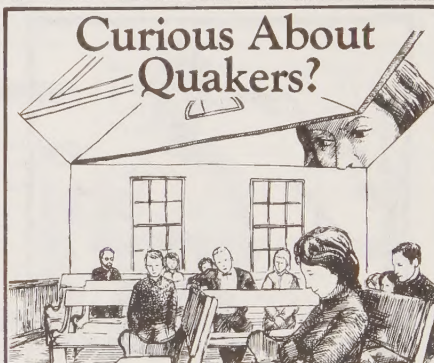
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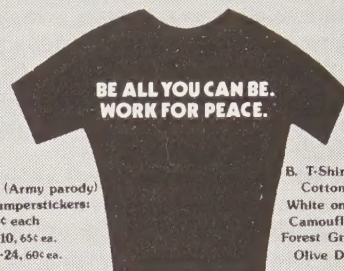


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For Films/Videos: War, Peace, and the Environment contact: Green Mountain Post Films, PO Box 229D, Turners Falls, MA 01376 (413) 863-4754.

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NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

MFS NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mobilization for Survival (MfS) Ninth National Conference brings together grass-roots activists from across the United States to design strategies and discuss issues of disarmament, U.S. intervention in Central America and the Mideast, and the farm crisis. George Washington University, Washington, DC, **Nov 9-11**. For more information *contact*: Bruce Cronin, MfS, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

DESIGN FOR THE FUTURE

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR) will mark National Membership Day on **Nov 11** with forums to address the nuclear threat in locations across the country, including **New York City, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Washington, DC, San Francisco** (Nov 12), **Phoenix, Tucson, and Seattle**. For more information, *contact*: ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 334-8104.

FROM TRINITY TO STAR WARS

Nationwide video conference on **Nov 12** will address US/Soviet relations, the increasing risk of nuclear war, and other issues that will be under discussion at the Geneva Summit. The program will feature an interview with Robert McNamara, and will be televised live to seven locations in **Amherst, MA; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Dallas; Chicago and San Francisco**. Organizations may set up "downlinks" for group viewing or work with local cable television stations to air the teleconference as a public affairs program. For more information, *contact*: The Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

GAMES PEOPLE PLAY

The Chicago Peace Museum's latest show (**open through Dec 31**), "Child's Play: An Exhibition on Toys and Games for All Ages," explores the ways in which playthings can influence values and attitudes, and features a peace post office, where children can send messages to their peers around the world, constructive computer games, and more. Portions of the exhibit address the effects of violent toys on children and offer guidance to parents on available alternatives. *Contact*: Ruth Barrett, The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

GRASSROOTS ACTION DAYS

Events across the country, aimed at building multi-racial, nonviolent coalitions, will focus on militarism, apartheid, racism, sexism and economic injustice; **Nov 23-25**. *Contact*: The Fellowship of Reconciliation Disarmament Program, Grassroots Action Days, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

AMERICAN PEACE TEST

As NUCLEAR TIMES went to press, the national Freeze Campaign (*see story, page 10*), had paired the following dates and states for Nevada Test Site and local activities: **Nov 1**: Oregon and NYC; **Nov 5**: Indiana, Ohio; **Nov 6**: Iowa; **Nov 8**: Illinois; **Nov 9**: New Jersey, New Mexico; **Nov 10**: New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine; **Nov 11**: Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Alabama; **Nov 13**: Virginia, W Virginia, District of

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit January and February events by December 1.

Columbia; **Nov 14**: Utah; **Nov 15**: Washington state; **Nov 16**: Massachusetts; **Nov 18**: Connecticut. For more information about the Test Site Campaign, *contact*: Nancy Hale, The Freeze Campaign, 116 Temple Dr, Las Vegas, NV 89107 (702) 870-4121.

COLLEGE PEACE WALK

Join students at 100 college campuses across the country on **Nov 3** for a 10K Great Peace March. *Contact*: Dan Pallotta, PRO-Peace, 8150 Beverly Blvd, Ste 301, Los Angeles, CA 90048 (213) 653-6245.

NOVEMBER 2

MARYLAND

• **Silver Spring** Public meeting, "The Summit: Peace or Pieces," with Sam Abbott, Mayor of Takoma Park; Marilyn Moors, anthropologist; and Robert Kurtz, legislative aide to Congressman Michael Barnes; Forest Glen Senior Center. *Contact*: Bertha Bosik, Gray Panthers of Montgomery County, 3912 Denfeld Av, Kensington, MD 20895 (301) 946-3233.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Amherst** Five-year anniversary celebration of passage of Massachusetts freeze referendum, the first in the country. Awards given to long-time Freeze activists; Rep Ed Markey will be on hand. *Contact*: Judy Scheckel, Traprock Peace Center, Woolman Hill, Keets Rd, Deerfield, MA (413) 773-7427.

NOVEMBER 7

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** National conference, "New Resources for Global Security: Non-violent Alternatives," a coalition effort of over 30 groups, with workshops, panels, and a live US/USSR teleconference. *Contact*: Kathy Carlson, c/o Graduate Assembly, Anthony Hall, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720 (415) 644-2437.

MICHIGAN

• **Ann Arbor** PRO-Peace recruitment campaign, with organizational meetings for Great Peace March; University of Michigan. A similar campaign will be held at **Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo on Nov 8**. *Contact*: Carole Schmidt, PRO-Peace, 220 S State St, Ste 202, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 786-9041.

NOVEMBER 9

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Conference, "Women, Faith and Peacemaking," with speakers, workshops and more. Films will be shown on the effects of radiation in the Pacific on infant development. *Contact*: Polly Mann, Women Against Military Madness, 3255 Hennepin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5364.

MISSOURI

• **Statewide** Vigils at missile sites and launch control centers for Minuteman II. Five hundred people needed for

small teams to camp overnight at each of 165 sites. Begins with rally at Knob Noster State Park, and reassembles next day for closing ceremony at Whiteman Air Force Base (where missiles are controlled). *Contact*: Roy Pell, Kansas City Interfaith Peace Alliance, 3031 Holmes St, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 453-4574.

NOVEMBER 10

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Play, "Handy Dandy, A Comedy But," looks at the relationship between the law and a civilly disobedient nun. *Contact*: Jay Robinson, Iowa Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

NOVEMBER 11

IOWA

• **Iowa City** Nuclear Weapons Awareness Week, will include lectures, conferences, films and more; **through Nov 18**. *Contact*: Brian Taylor, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Student Action Center, Iowa Memorial Union, Iowa City, IA 52242 (319) 337-6241.

NOVEMBER 15

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Campus Organizing Workshop to Stop the Arms Race, with Sandy Gottlieb, executive director of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), and UCAM Field Director Tina Clark, **through Nov 16**. *Contact*: Tina Clark, UCAM, 1346 Connecticut Av, Ste 706, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-6206.

NOVEMBER 18

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Series, "Star Wars: Four Symposia," including discussions on technological feasibility, dollar and human cost to American society, university research, and ABM Treaty implications; University of Minnesota, **through Nov 22**. *Contact*: Betty Ellis, (612) 646-2067.

NOVEMBER 20

IOWA

• **Sioux City** Workshop, "The Economic Impact of the Arms Race on Iowa's Cities, Towns and Farms," sponsored by Local Elected Officials USA (LEO-USA). *Contact*: Larry Agran, LEO-USA, 3 Upper Newport Pl, Newport Beach, CA 92660 (714) 250-1296.

NOVEMBER 23

OHIO

• **Cleveland** Advanced Electoral Skills Training Workshop, co-sponsored by Freeze Voter '86, Ohio Public Interest Campaign, NOW; Cleveland Univ. *Contact*: Monica Green, 1468 W 25 St, Cleveland, OH 44113 (216) 861-7999.

NOVEMBER 26

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Valley Forge** Pre-Thanksgiving wit-

ness at General Electric Space Division with theme, "People are homeless while GE reaps profits of death." Vigil begins with religious service and building of shanty, and concludes with civil disobedience action to move shanty onto GE property; 24 hours beginning at noon. There will be a Christmas service in front of the GE plant in Philadelphia on **Dec 23**. *Contact*: Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

DECEMBER 1

CALIFORNIA

• **San Diego** "Holiday for Peace," musical presentation sponsored by Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND) includes children's choir, gospel groups and flashlight vigil in memory of Samantha Smith's dream of world peace; Starlight Bowl, Balboa Park. *Contact*: Kerry Zurier, MEND, PO Box 2309, La Jolla, CA 92038 (619) 454-3343.

DECEMBER 3

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Lecture, "Destruction Before Detonation: The Effect of the Arms Race on Health and Health Care," by Dr. Victor Sidel, president of the American Health Association; Johns Hopkins University, Turner Auditorium. *Contact*: Baltimore Physicians for Social Responsibility, 325 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 235-7760.

DECEMBER 5

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Second Annual Holiday Peace Parties, held in the homes of members of Congress with celebrity guests. Fundraiser for Peace Links. *Contact*: Karen Sherman, Peace Links, 723 1/2 8 St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

TEXAS

• **Austin** Conference, "Forty Years of the Nuclear Era," with workshops on Star Wars, US/USSR relations, nuclear-age morality, and more; featuring John Kenneth Galbraith; Adm. Eugene Carroll; Amarillo, TX Bishop LeRoy Mathieson; and many more; University of Texas, **through Dec 7**. *Contact*: Nina Butts, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, Texas Union, PO Box 312, Austin, TX 78713 (512) 471-6272.

DECEMBER 26

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Annual Atlantic Life Community Feast of the Holy Innocents and Festival of Resistance at the Pentagon; **through Dec 28**. *Contact*: Jonah House, 1933 Park Av, Baltimore, MD 21217 (301) 669-6265.

DECEMBER 27

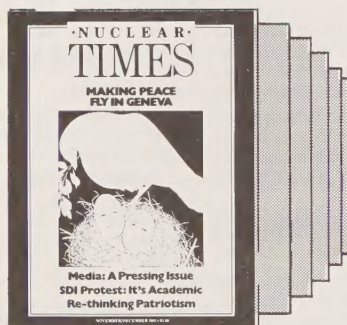
GEORGIA

• **St Marys** Christian Witness and peace walk to Kings Bay Submarine Base, future home of the Trident Submarine; **through Dec 28**. Nonviolence training for those entering the base offered on **Nov 15-16**. *Contact*: A.B. Short, Community of Hospitality, 305 Mead Rd, Decatur, GA 30030 (404) 378-7840.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo with Charles de Kay, Francine Meyer and Jacqueline Orr.

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

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